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CONTENTS

PALAEOLITHS FROM THE LOWER REACHES OF THE BRISTOL AVON, by A. D. Lacaille, F.S.A.	1
THE EXCAVATION OF A ROMAN BARROW AT RIBHOLME, NEAR LINCOLN, by F. H. Thompson	28
A CAROLINGIAN ROCK CRYSTAL FROM THE ABBEY OF SAINT-DENIS AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM, by Comte Blaïc de Montesquiou-Fezensac, Hon. F.S.A.	38
RHODES AND THE ORIGIN OF THE BASTION, by B. H. St. J. O'Neil, M.A., F.S.A.	44
THE PLAN OF THE ABBEY CHURCH OF THE BENEDICTINE NUNNERY OF SAINT MARY, WEST MALLING, KENT, by F. C. Elliston-Erwood, F.S.A.	55
NOTES	64
REVIEWS	79
PERIODICAL LITERATURE, BIBLIOGRAPHY, PROCEEDINGS	117



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NOTES

A hand-axe from Pen-y-lan, Cardiff, 64. —A Castor Ware vessel from York, 67. —Some fragmentary flan-moulds in the Silchester Collection at Reading Museum, 68. —The Ancient British coins found at Silchester, 70. —The Rudston fibulae, 73. —A late- or sub-Roman buckle-plate from College Wood, near Winchester, 75. —A bronze socketed axe of Danish type from Wangford, near Lakenheath, 77. —A comb fragment from Caistor, Lincs., 77.

REVIEWS

Wheeler, <i>The Indus Civilization</i>	79
Woolley and Barnett, <i>Carchemish, Part 3</i>	80
Tufnell, <i>Lachish III: The Iron Age</i>	81
Garstang, <i>Prehistoric Mervin</i>	82
Arkell, <i>Shahinab</i>	83
Dikaios, <i>Khuroktia</i>	84
Levy, <i>The Sword from the Rock</i>	86
Vandier, <i>Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne</i>	86
Leakey, <i>Adam's Ancestors</i> , 4th edn.	87
Holste, <i>Die Bronzestadt in Süd- und Westdeutschland</i>	88
Fabre, <i>Les Civilisations protohistoriques de l'Aquitaine</i>	89
Hill, <i>The Ancient City of Athens</i>	90
Atkinson, Piggott, and Sanders, <i>Excavations at Dorchester, Oxon.</i>	91
Waage, <i>Antioch-on-the-Orontes, IV, pt. 2. Greek, Roman, Byzantine, and Crusader's Coins</i>	92
Mariën, <i>Ons-België</i>	93
Ed. Moro, <i>Beiträge zur älteren europäischen Kultur Geschichte. Festschrift für Rudolf Egger</i>	94
Mack, <i>The Coinage of Ancient Britain</i>	96
Serra Ráfols, <i>La Villa Romana de la dehesa de 'La Cocosa'</i>	98
Clarke, Davidson, Robertson, and St. Joseph, <i>The Roman Occupation of South-western Scotland</i>	98
Duval, <i>La Vie quotidienne en Gaule pendant la paix romaine</i>	99
Hibben, <i>Treasure in the Dust</i>	99
Ó Riordán, <i>Antiquities of the Irish Countryside</i>	100
La Cour, <i>Danevirkestudier: en Arkeologisk-Historisk Undersøgelse</i>	101
Ed. Pugh, <i>Victoria County History of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely, Vol. IV</i>	102
Ed. Salzman, <i>Victoria County History of Sussex, Vol. IV. The Rape of Chichester</i>	103
Toy, <i>The Castles of Great Britain</i>	103
Hill, <i>Scottish Castles of the 16th and 17th Centuries</i>	104
Fox and Raglan, <i>Monmouthshire Houses, Part II. Sub-Medieval Houses, c. 1550-1610</i>	105
Jones, <i>Follies and Grottoes</i>	106
Rickett, <i>The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal</i>	107
Knowles and Hadcock, <i>Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales</i>	108
Major, <i>A Handlist of the Records of the Bishop of Lincoln and of the Archdeacon of Lincoln and Stow</i>	109
Gunnis, <i>Dictionary of British Sculptures, 1660-1851</i>	109
Heul, <i>The London Furniture Makers from the Restoration to the Victorian Era, 1660-1840</i>	110
Macklin, <i>Monumental Brasses</i>	111
Evans, <i>A History of Jewellery, 1100-1870</i>	112
Neale, <i>Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments, 1559-1581</i>	113
Redstone and Steer, <i>Local Records, their Nature and Care</i>	114
Fox, <i>The Borough Town of Stratford-upon-Avon</i>	115
Boston and Puddy, <i>Dereham: the Biography of a Country Town</i>	115
Andrews' and Dury's <i>Map of Wiltshire, 1773</i>	116

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PALAEOLITHS FROM THE LOWER REACHES OF THE BRISTOL AVON

By A. D. LACAILLE, F.S.A.

I. INTRODUCTION

THE fact that the Pleistocene ice-sheets mantled so great a part of Britain was long regarded as sufficient explanation of the absence of Lower Palaeolithic remains from the territory south of a line drawn from the Wash to the Bristol Channel.¹ Recent work and finds, however, show that during genial conditions early man certainly moved quite far into areas freed by the waning ice during periods of retreat. Thus, from extremes beyond those cited, there are reports of a few Lower Palaeolithic implements from Pleistocene gravels in the valley of the Trent in Lincolnshire,² from the valley of the Don³ and from Huntow,⁴ in Yorkshire, and of an odd piece from Cheshire.⁵ But of most import to the present study are the Lower Palaeolithic stone tools from the basin of the Severn in the Midlands, and an Acheulian hand-axe has been found within the past few months at Pen-y-lan, near Cardiff. With the palaeoliths discovered at intermediate sites in the basin of this great river the range in the Atlantic drainage is extended from Somerset into once glaciated territory.

One can understand the absence of relics of Lower Palaeolithic man and of his animal contemporaries from those regions in Britain which had supported the ice that predominated and sent forth great streams during the later part of the Pleistocene. For had man and animals taken advantage of spells of climatic improvement between the earlier glaciations and penetrated deep into territory vacated by the retreating ice, their bones must have been destroyed, and man's artifacts swept away and overwhelmed when the great ice-sheets readvanced. Nevertheless, there is always the chance that some organic and industrial remains of Lower Palaeolithic age may rest in favoured conditions, such as a cave or exceptionally preserved deposit.

¹ *A Guide to Antiquities of the Stone Age*, 3rd edition, British Museum, 1926, p. 10.

² A. Leslie Armstrong, 'Palaeolithic Man in the Midlands', in *Mem. and Proc. Manch. Lit. and Phil. Soc.*, vol. lxxxiii, 1939, pp. 87–116.

³ A. D. Lacaille, 'Palaeolithic Implements manufactured in Naturally Holed Flints, from Rossing-

ton, Yorks., and Dartford, Kent', in *Antiq. Journ.*, vol. xxiv, 1944, pp. 144–46.

⁴ F. Elgee, *Early Man in North-East Yorkshire*, Gloucester, 1930, p. 23; A. D. Lacaille, 'The Northward March of Palaeolithic Man in Britain', in *Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, vol. lvii, 1946, p. 65, and fig. 9, no. 1. ⁵ British Museum, *loc. cit.*, *supra*.

Such considerations, however, hardly apply to the lowest reaches of the Severn and its left-bank tributaries south of Kidderminster. Yet, if never actually invaded by the ice, this region was periglacial and must therefore have been inhospitable enough during the glaciations. At such times conditions in this district were probably more rigorous than in the Thames valley¹ and certainly more so than in the Somme valley,² both classic grounds in which terrace deposits and the steps between enshrine many memorials of the Pleistocene and provide standards for comparisons and correlations.

II. PALAEOLITHS FROM THE SEVERN BASIN

General Considerations

In these south-western stretches of the Severn basin severe climatic conditions must have lasted as long as, if not longer than, in the south-eastern part of Britain, the reason being the proximity of the mountains of Wales as gathering grounds and dispersal centres of the ice and as long-persisting snowfields. To their contribution of cold, affecting the comparatively restricted area of the valley of the Bristol Avon, between what is now Bath and the sea, can be added that furnished by snow nourished in the Cotswolds, the uplands of Dundry and Mendip, and to a lesser degree the Failand Ridge. Other factors were the high grounds which on both banks dominate the lowest reaches of the river. With this locality this communication is concerned, since from a small area on the left bank there has been recovered the largest collection of Lower Palaeolithic stone implements from the whole basin of the Severn. Taken with a similar but smaller group from the outer suburbs of Bristol³ farther upstream, and with the records of sporadic finds in gravels between St. Anne's Park and Bath (map, pl. 1), the series of palaeoliths from the region bears numerical comparison with assemblages from localities in south-east England. Not only so, but the collections from the Bristol Avon are far-reaching, for they prove that Palaeolithic man long occupied this part of the Atlantic drainage, and that he did not merely penetrate into this territory as the few stone artifacts recorded up till now appeared to suggest.

Although there are only scanty records of Lower Palaeolithic relics from the basin of the Severn and the Warwickshire Avon, the main tributary, these are valuable as they afford a glimpse of the spread of man in the early stages of his Stone Age cultural development. Such, too, are the facies of the relics themselves that they can be identified with the products of the principal industries of cultures which flourished in the classic areas embraced in the great Lower Palaeolithic province, which is now demonstrably extended by recent discoveries. Of these,

¹ See, for example, W. B. R. King and K. P. Oakley's 'The Pleistocene Succession in the Lower Parts of the Thames Valley', in *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, vol. ii, 1936, pp. 52-76.

² H. Breuil and L. Koslowski, 'Études de Stratigraphie Paléolithique dans le Nord de la France, la

Belgique et l'Angleterre', *La Vallée de la Somme, L'Anthropologie*, t. xli, 1931, pp. 449-88; t. xlii, 1932, pp. 27-47 and 291-314.

³ J. A. Davies and T. R. Fry, 'Notes on the Gravel Terraces of the Bristol Avon', in *Proc. Spel. Soc.* (Univ. Bristol), no. 3, vol. iii, 1928, pp. 167-9.

the odd examples from the Severn basin, including the Warwickshire Avon,¹ as far down valley as Barnwood, near Gloucester,² and now from Pen-y-lan, Cardiff, are but sporadic finds so fortunately brought to notice by individuals who have appreciated their significance.

The Bristol Area

Early man's long-lasting activity in the lower reaches of the Bristol Avon is shown by the character and condition of the artifacts found in the district. For the groups are comprehensive enough to permit of our assessing the industrial aspects typified by their constituents. So far as the valley of the Bristol Avon is concerned, those from the neighbourhood of the city, which go to form the most representative of Lower Palaeolithic collections known from any of the western counties, are but feebly augmented by the few specimens which have been reported from sites between Bath and Bristol. Since it is thought that those noted from places in this stretch were recovered as casual finds, one feels that had commercial excavations been kept under constant observation the yield of artifacts attributable to Old Stone Age craftsmanship would probably have been considerable.

That the Lower Palaeolithic industries of the Bristol district can be shown to have produced as great a variety of forms as did any of those represented in the well-known implementiferous deposits on the eastern side of the water-parting, is due to the conscientious work of Mr. T. R. Fry and of the late Robert Hughes. To the first-named we look for a report on his series from the south-eastern suburbs of Bristol, in amplification of the paper he and Mr. J. A. Davies laid before the University of Bristol Spelaeological Society in 1928.³ The present writer wishes now to discuss aspects of the collection assembled by Mr. Hughes, and by his testamentary directions presented by his widow to the City Museum, Bristol. For nearly twenty-five years, until his last and fatal illness in the summer of 1948, he studied the terraces on both sides of the Bristol Avon near his home at Shirehampton (map, fig. 1), and watched all utilitarian diggings in these formations. Thanks to Mr. Hughes's careful notes, and to conversations with him, the circumstances of discovery are known. Besides, the accuracy of his observations has been verified by close and long survey of the ground and inspection of some sections exposed in the area considered.

It may at first disappoint readers to learn that nearly all the components of the large series are surface-finds. While this may be regretted, the present author thinks, nevertheless, that insufficient attention has been paid to palaeoliths gleaned from the surface in various parts of southern Britain. For, in his opinion, which is not based solely on experience of this kind obtained outside Britain, they have an importance peculiar to the region in which they occur. In the case of the groups from the Bristol district, the significance of the palaeoliths found locally will, on the

¹ F. W. Shotton, 'Palaeolithic Implements found near Coventry', in *Proc. Prehist. Soc. East Anglia*, vol. vi, 1930, pp. 174-81.

² M. C. Burkitt, 'A Gloucester Palaeolith', in *Antiq. Journ.*, vol. i, 1921, p. 234; E. M. Clifford,

'A Prehistoric and Roman Site at Barnwood, near Gloucester', in *Trans. Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeol. Soc.*, vol. liii, 1930, pp. 208-11; *eadem*, 'A Palaeolith found near Gloucester', in *Antiq. Journ.*, vol. xvi, 1936, p. 91. ³ *Op. cit., supra.*

score of typology alone, be made plain if it is not already obvious in the light of knowledge gained since palaeoliths were first reported from this area.

Except for a few specimens from Shirehampton on the right bank, or Gloucestershire side, of the Bristol Avon, the palaeoliths in Hughes's collection come from the opposite bank, or Somerset side of the river. The list is made up of the pieces studied for the purpose of this communication, and does not, of course, take into account the known artifacts which Hughes at times gave to institutions or individuals. His notes, upon which the present paper is based, refer to the ground and sections scrutinized by him between a point in Abbots Leigh parish, 250 yards west of Seamills, and Portbury (see maps, pl. 1 and fig. 2). The principal site of his explorations and discoveries lies in this stretch of $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles. It comprises some 14 acres on the lands of Chapel Pill Farm at 100 ft. above O.D., 150 yards south-east of the buildings, and to the north of the middle of a line between the two extremes named, and one mile south of the sharp bend of the river at Horseshoe Point, a little east of Shirehampton. Since it was on the right bank that Hughes made his earliest discoveries of typical and well-preserved palaeoliths in a Pleistocene gravel, the conditions on this (Gloucestershire) side will be considered first after a rapid glance at the Pleistocene history of the river.

III. TOPOGRAPHY

The Bristol Avon River

Having carved its bed out of the rock at a remote geological period, the Bristol Avon, one of the most interesting and curious rivers in England, now makes its way seaward from Bath through two picturesque gorges, one, Conham, to the south-east of Bristol and the other, Clifton, for two miles serving as the western bounds of the city from south of the Suspension Bridge almost as far downstream as Seamills. Here it is joined by the small river Trym which in a manner resembles the Avon, since part of its course forms a remarkable ravine in the Blaise Castle estate.

The evidence shows that at the beginning of the Pleistocene, and before the Quaternary ice developed, the land in the Bristol area stood about 200 ft. higher than it does today.¹ Because the coastal grounds therefore extended much farther seaward, the mouth of the ancient Bristol Avon lay at a considerable and unknown distance from its present outlet at Avonmouth. One cannot say whether the river then flowed directly into the sea, or whether it joined an elongated and narrower predecessor of the Severn. Since the first of the Pleistocene glaciations that made themselves felt in the region the Bristol Avon has adjusted itself to the changes of sea-level by a process of downcutting, interrupted by periods of aggrading and building materials upon the terraces cut in forming the valley we now know.

These changes of relationship between the land and sea, and the cutting and overburdening of terraces at about 100 ft., and thereafter at lesser elevations above

¹ *British Regional Geology*, Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, Geological Survey and Museum, Bristol and Gloucester District, London, 1948, p. 89.

its present level in the lower reaches, were linked to the waxing and the waning of the ice-sheets. For the sea-level sank during the glaciations and rose during the deglaciations. Thus the land stood high during cold periods when so much water was pent in the ice-sheets. The river, then aided by a marked fall, sought its base-level by deepening its channel. The contrary was the case as the climate milderened with the shrinking of the ice and the consequent release of the melt-waters. The river, seeking to conform to the rising sea-level, but having a lesser fall to help it, tended to become sluggish. As a result its channel filled with gravels, sands, silts, and clays.

When, therefore, by each sinking of sea-level the river was compelled to carve out a new bed, it eroded and carried away much of the materials laid down earlier. While in a few areas great spreads of the deposits upon the terraces were spared, in some only patches remained. Other causes appear to have contributed to the destroying or altering of certain superficial beds. Again, in places deposition was perhaps so scanty that in the course of the ages the little that had been laid down has quite lost its original character.

In its lower reaches, corresponding to those we know today between Seamills and Shirehampton, the Bristol Avon did not flow in a great wide valley as did the Thames and Somme. Compared with theirs, too, its course was short. The infilling of its channel and the aggrading of deposits upon its terraces during periods of deglaciation would of course operate upstream from the mouth, but they found themselves hindered by great obstructions, first the Clifton gorge and farther up-valley the Conham gorge. Here, it seems, lies also the explanation of the apparent break in the continuity of the fluviatile deposits¹ which, resting upon the terrace benches above Conham, have been studied in exposures in gravel-pits at Bath, Twerton, and other places.

In its penultimate reach from Bristol to Avonmouth the main river resumes a north-westerly course as far as Horseshoe Point, just under a mile down valley from Seamills, one mile south of Kings Weston, and a little to the east of Shirehampton (pl. II). At this place it is deflected sharply southward by the southern extension of the Kings Weston ridge which terminates in the spur called Penpole Point. From here it flows for about a mile south-westerly, forming with the main stream to the east a veritable half-loop bounding a tongue of land, which includes fields of Chapel Pill Farm cultivated on two river terraces. One of these lies approximately 50 ft. and the other 100 ft. above O.D. This terrace declines gently towards the river, but the fall is interrupted by a comparable feature which is most marked at about 50 ft. above O.D. in the neighbourhood of Myrtle Hall. Although it has been so built upon during the interval between the two wars, yet the terrace standing at 100 ft. above mean water-level appears as the more conspicuous and important of the two. Probably the seaward extension at this higher level was considerable. Also it would appear that, save for some places sheltered by an arm of Carboniferous limestone on Penpole Point, the softer Triassic rocks and, of course, any deposits laid down by the river were eroded away during a period of high water-level.

¹ Cf. Davies and Fry, *op. cit.*, 1928, p. 163.

IV. PLEISTOCENE DEPOSITS

Shirehampton (Right Bank)

Endangering what little remained of the Pleistocene deposits, and tending to obscure what terrace features had been visible, the operations of the different contractors in Shirehampton nevertheless gave to Messrs. J. A. Davies and T. R. Fry the opportunity of inspecting sections which from time to time were brought to light. Their report includes detailed descriptions of the sequence of beds. To their observations could be added Mr. Hughes's on the exposures he saw in Shirehampton and elsewhere. His notes reveal that in the main the deposits he examined were similar to those dealt with by Davies and Fry, and that at Shirehampton the order was the same as that recorded by the Rev. B. Oriel in gravel-pits at Twerton, near Bath.¹

The section noted in 1928 by Mr. Fry in the cemetery at Shirehampton, the base at 100 ft. O.D., and the surface at nearly 110 ft., showed the following (in ascending order):

	Ft.	In.
4 Red loam with broken flint and chert nodules	2	0
3 Red sandy clay, with large semi-rounded blocks of Millstone grit, Carboniferous limestone, and Greensand chert	3	0
2 Interbedded seams of red and white quartzose sand	1	0
1 Fine limestone gravel, mainly of Jurassic origin, with a number of Carboniferous pebbles, quartzite, and flint	3	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	9	0

The same inquirer noted the following order of beds during the constructions on the Cotswold Estate, near Myrtle Hall, Shirehampton, in 1936, at an elevation of about 60 ft. on the surface, the base consisting of Trias marl at about 55 ft. O.D. (in ascending order):

	Ft.	In.
3 Soil and subsoil containing pebbles of chert, quartzite, and haematite	2	0
2 Coarse sandy loam, unstratified	1	6
1 Reddish marly loam mixed with gravel, with pockets and lenticles of unaltered gravel, mainly of Jurassic limestone, in places	1	8
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	5	2

Comparable sections were exposed in trenches near Penleaze House, the works revealing stratified gravel from about 18 in. below the surface of the road. In Walton Road, also, an excavation at approximately 100 ft. O.D. showed the usual capping of sandy loam, with water-worn and shattered pieces of chert and flint, resting upon a stiffer clayey loam containing chert, flint, and quartzite pebbles.

¹ 'The Avon and its Gravels', in *Proc. Bristol Naturalists' Soc.*, n.s., vol. x, pt. iii (issued for 1903), 1904, pp. 228-39.

Opposite the vicarage the widening of the highway exposed similar gravel. No doubt other openings could be cited as affording more evidence of the presence of patches of river-borne gravel that had escaped being swept away.

On this side of the river the crucial bed was that with limestone gravel (1) in its composition, because from it both Fry and Hughes have recovered a few Lower Palaeolithic (Middle Acheulian) implements. Of these most important objects, three are figured here. From Grove Leaze, at 95 ft. above O.D., a miniature cleaver (fig. 1, no. 1), of fine honey-hued chert, has edges which retain their pristine sharpness except where worn by use. In equally well-preserved state is a small quadrangular hand-axe (no. 2), of the same material, from gravel at 85 ft. in Station

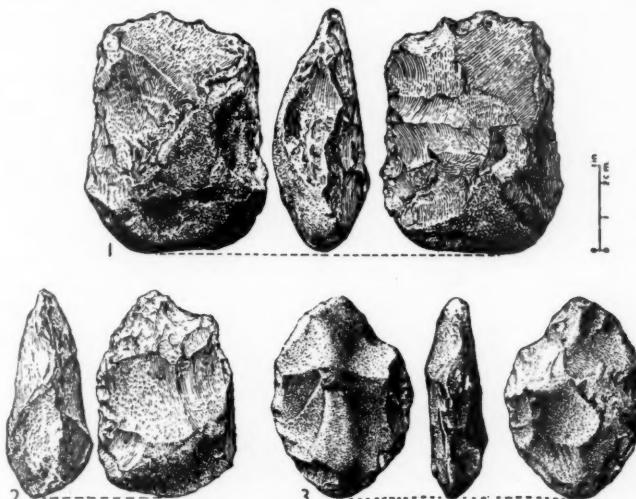


FIG. 1. Palaeolithic bifacially flaked implements from Shirehampton. (1)

Road. So slight is the smoothing of their flake-ridges that it is evident the tools could not have been carried far from the place of their manufacture. The specimens may therefore with confidence be regarded as coeval with the containing gravel. Figured with them, no. 3, a small, slug-shaped but flattish implement, finely flaked in a pebble of the same grade and shade of chert, possesses a fairly well-preserved cutting-edge. It differs from nos. 1 and 2, however, by reason of the pronounced dulling of all its flake-ridges. This condition would be due to the incorporation of the piece in gravel that was swept from its original level and eventually redeposited at the lower level of 80 ft. above O.D. where it was found by Hughes. They contrast therefore with all the palaeoliths collected on the ground in Shirehampton, which exhibit various degrees of patination and change. Hughes's notebooks contain references to such finds at Grove Leaze, Meadow Grove, Myrtle Hall, Old Barrow Hill, Station Hill, and Station Road, all in Shire-

hampton (map, fig. 2). To these can be added a small hand-axe found by Messrs. G. C. Boon and J. C. Brown in excavating a Roman villa at Laurence Weston, and another picked up by the second-named gentleman on Kings Weston Park.

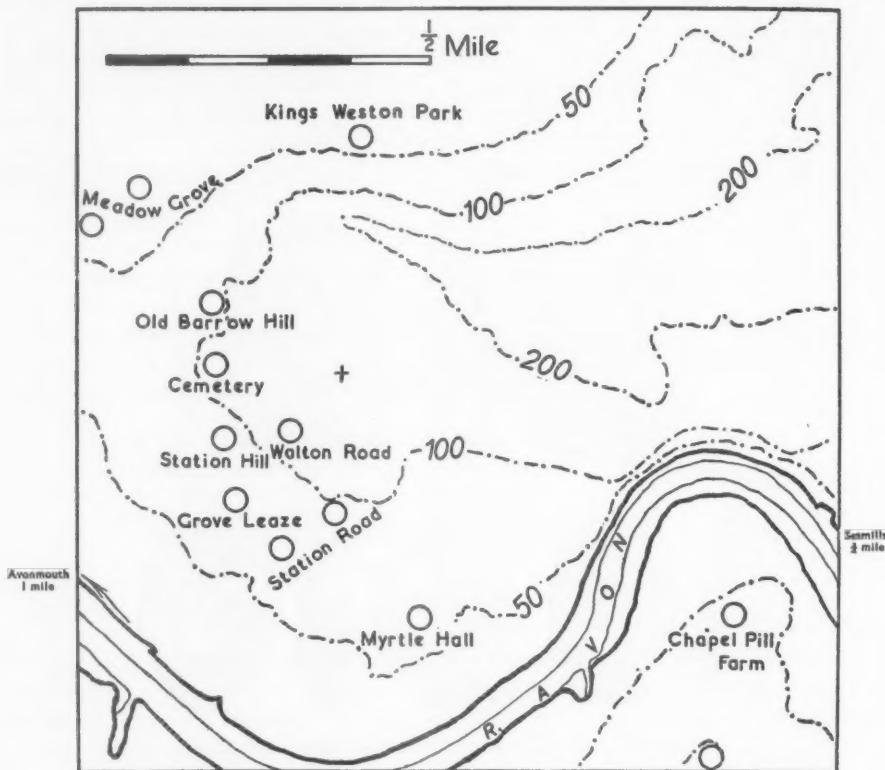


FIG. 2. Map showing finding-places of palaeoliths in and near Shirehampton

Chapel Pill Farm (Left Bank)

From the right bank of the Bristol Avon at several points along the highway (A.4), between Seamills and the deep road cutting near Shirehampton, one has excellent views of the tongue of land which lies east of Chapel Pill Farm on the opposite bank of the river (pl. III a). Two terraces are prominent features of this promontory which, as has been mentioned, is formed by the sharp double bend and looping made by the stream. The surface of the fields on the lower terrace stands generally at about 50 ft. above mean water-level; and the cultivated surface on the higher terrace, against which the lower terrace is banked, stands at 100-120 ft. As seen from the Gloucestershire side the higher terrace is an imposing feature. For it is well defined and wide, rising gently towards what is probably a yet higher



(Photo: Bristol City Museum)

Aerial view of the terraces on the left bank of the Bristol Avon opposite Shirehampton. The area covered is approximately one mile by half a mile. The north point is at the bottom of the picture



Photo: G. C. Boon

a. The terraces of the Bristol Avon east of Chapel Pill Farm in Abbots Leigh parish, Som., viewed from Shirehampton Park



Photo: G. C. Boon

b. Head on the 100-ft. terrace of the Bristol Avon, exposed in railway cutting east of Ham Green Halt in Abbots Leigh parish, Som.

terrace fronting the Failand Ridge. Hence on the Somerset bank of the Bristol Avon there occur the counterparts of the features which have all but been obliterated by buildings between Shirehampton and Avonmouth.

East of Chapel Pill Farm the railway from Bristol to Portishead, before issuing into the open near Ham Green Halt, runs in a deep cutting with densely overgrown faces. Despite the vegetation, sections in the deposits overlying the terrace have at times been revealed in the upper part of the cutting east of the bridge carrying a service track over the line (see aerial view, pl. II). They showed the following (in ascending order):

	Ft.	In.
4 Sandy soil, with occasional fragments of chert	1 2
3 Unstratified detritus from decalcified gravel	1 0
2 Loam mixed with Trias clay	0 6
1 Bed-rock of Trias marl visible for	20 0

Any differences observed in exposures can be regarded as of a minor nature and of local character. Such are the absence or presence of seams of loam on top of the bed-rock and the greater or lesser thickness of the bed of unstratified materials underlying the topsoil. Where a small vertical fall forming part of such a section was seen recently, a clean face was prepared and photographed (pl. III b).

The section as detailed above answers Professor Kirk Bryan's standard of the characteristic parts of the ground in periglacial areas,¹ save that the superficial deposits in Abbots Leigh appear to be more thinly laid than the beds of the ideal section he figures. Judging from an authoritative work on the subject of these deposits in localities where the writer has studied them, we have here a typical example of the head of a periglacial region, particularly as observed in south-west England.² It seems to be similar to that on the slopes of the Axe valley,³ where in at least one place the head passes into true river gravels which form the very thick overburden of the terrace, and which have yielded the well-known Acheulian chert implements.

The nature of these beds, it is thought, has a direct bearing on the discoveries of Palaeolithic implements on the lands of Chapel Pill Farm. That so many are surface-finds can be partly if not wholly explained by the material upon which they lay, and from which a few have been extracted. The mode of occurrence of angular and shattered stones, including bleached flints, in the deposits, as exposed in a few sections, is reminiscent of the congeliturbate, or, as usually called, solifluxion masses, locally overlying and furrowing fluviatile gravels in valleys in periglacial regions.⁴ In the lower reaches of the Bristol Avon, on the right bank in the parish of Abbots Leigh, however, the broken elements have nowhere been seen in festoons

¹ 'Cryopedology—The Study of Frozen Ground and Intensive Frost-action with Suggestions on Nomenclature', in *American Journ. Sci.*, vol. cclxlii, Sept. 1946, pp. 622-42.

² H. G. Dines, S. E. Hollingsworth, Wilfrid Edwards, S. Buchan, and F. B. A. Welch, 'The Mapping of Head Deposits', in *Geol. Mag.*,

vol. lxxvii, 1940, pp. 215-18.

³ *Idem*, fig. 5 on p. 217, and p. 218.

⁴ H. Breuil, 'De l'Importance de la Solifluxion dans l'Étude des Terrains Quaternaires du Nord de la France et des Pays Voisins', in *Revue de Géographie Physique*, vol. vii, 1934, pp. 269-331.

or thinning and thickening strings of stony materials. Instead, pebbles and fractured angular pieces of stone, varied in size but seldom really large, are jumbled in great confusion and mixed with muddy-looking dark grey loam under the grass-capped topsoil. These materials at the 100-foot level near Chapel Pill Farm are clearly referable to the oft-repeated action of solifluxion or an allied agency. This can be simply accounted for in this region, backed as it is in the south by high grounds which nurtured snow during the Pleistocene. As periglacial territory it was for very long indeed, and several times, subjected to the most rigorous of conditions. At best these became akin to those of the tundra, and must have remained so for untold ages in the adjustment of the land to an era of refrigeration.

Thaws and rains, which at intervals of varying length interrupted the fast, enduring frost and long-lying snows, combined to disintegrate the ground, upon which ancient man had dropped his tools, and caused the semi-frozen masses of unvegetated materials to move down the accentuated hill-slopes. Repeated constantly over countless centuries, the process brought artifacts to and near the surface. Erosion and agricultural operations—the second so long conducted in this part of the valley—have caused palaeoliths to reach the open. An idea may be had of the intensity of the cold that reigned here during the Pleistocene glacial maxima if one examines the frost-cracked and riven limestone rock which outcrops at Longwood Quarry, Providence, in Long Ashton parish, three miles south-south-west of Chapel Pill Farm.

Hughes, the present author, and others have picked artifacts out of the pebbly material a little over a foot from the surface. It is a question therefore if the relic-containing deposit is the equivalent of that resting upon the bed-rock of Trias marl at approximately 100 ft. above O.D. at Shirehampton. On the Gloucestershire side the records (above, pp. 6-7) are of a fluviatile gravel that has preserved at least some of its character, even if it occurs only in remnants, whereas on the Somerset bank around Chapel Pill Farm what river gravel there was, and that thinly laid, has become considerably altered or so mixed as to be completely disguised. To solifluxion as the carrier of the masses of material, weathering and erosion have to be added as factors destructive to shallow-lying gravel.

Doubtless these agencies were aided by the action of acids, so that only insoluble materials have remained. It may be, too, that some of the original gravel has been decalcified, and that the presence of sub-angular pebbles of chert, flint, haematite, and quartzite in the soil and subsoil indicates that ordinary river-borne gravels lay near by. This seems the likelier in that often, on both banks in the lower reaches of the Bristol Avon, such ingredients as cobbles and pebbles are rolled, and the angles of large pieces of stones are well smoothed as by the action of sand and water. Their condition also indicates that they escaped injury in the moving congeliturbate, and that locally, at any rate, the disturbances may not have been consistently violent.

Among the palaeoliths from the neighbourhood of Chapel Pill Farm, a few appear to be crucial to prehistoric studies in this part of the country. Six specimens are chosen for comment as it seems to the writer that they demonstrate the incon-

stancy of solifluxion and the varied nature of the local implementiferous deposits which rest upon the 100-ft. bench. These are shown by the differences in the

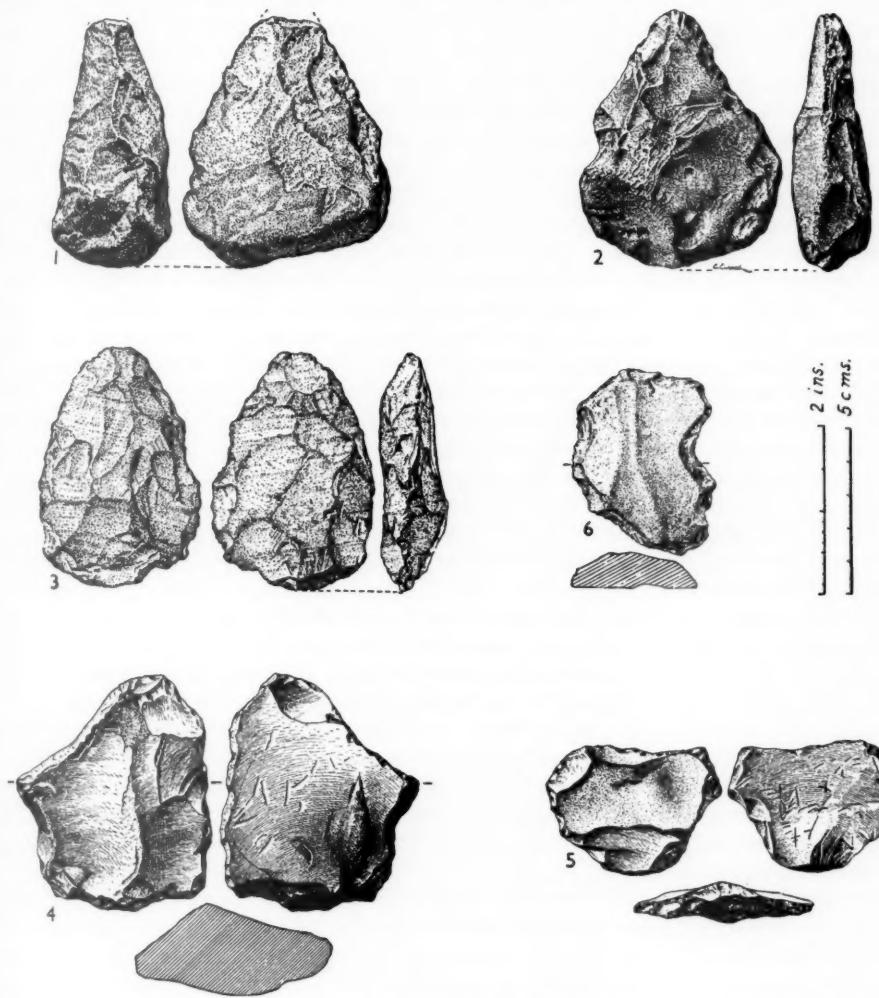


FIG. 3. Palaeoliths of special interest from Chapel Pill Farm, Abbots Leigh. Nos. 1-3, hand-axes; Nos. 4-6, flakes. (1)

physical condition of the artifacts. One (fig. 3, no. 1) is a small triangular hand-axe fashioned in a pebble of brown sandstone. Wanting the tip, it is otherwise almost indistinguishably as fresh and sharp-edged as when it left the hands of its Acheulian manufacturer. Its condition therefore indicates that solifluxion spared the tool.

Another (fig. 3, no. 2), also triangular and only triflingly more finely flaked in a chert pebble, exhibits traces of smoothing, but practically none of edge-injury. An ovate (fig. 3, no. 3) of well-developed Acheulian facies, carefully shaped in a petaloid flake of grey, banded, fine quality sandstone, has smoothed ridges on both faces, and its edge, extending all round, is slightly blunted. More advanced in looks than its companions, and yet contrasting in its worn state with them, it may at first sight appear deceptive. The two flakes (fig. 3, nos. 4 and 5), illustrated with these bifaces, did not escape as lightly as the pair, nos. 1 and 2. Both of flint, they (nos. 4 and 5) bear the same marks of injury as are so commonly observed in artifacts which have been subjected to rough transport in a moving stone-charged mass. The larger (no. 4) is a heavy, squat side-scraper which, if found in Pleistocene deposits in the south-eastern part of the North Sea drainage, would be taken on typology to belong if not to a developed Clactonian industry, then to an industry in which Acheulian and Clactonian methods blended. Its margins, dressed or left plain, are heavily crushed. In places the ridges appear as if bruised and the surfaces are scored, particularly on the nether or bulbar face. All these blemishes are among the standards customarily attributed to solifluxion operating by friction and pressure between stones contained in the congeliturbate. More remarkable still are the comparatively profuse short striations on the bulbar face of the smaller and quite delicate flake (no. 5). Heavily patinated, deeply stained a rich ochreous shade, and retaining a patch of the crust of a well-prepared core, this no. 5 is an excellent example of a flake obtained from the parent by Levalloisian technique. This is made emphatically manifest by the truncated narrow facets on the characteristically thin butt.

To the artifacts which appear not to have been affected by solifluxion another group has to be added. This constitutes the great majority of the palaeoliths from Chapel Pill Farm, and is composed of implements in the same comparatively well-preserved state as those found on the surface at Shirehampton. Apparently unscathed by a transporting agency, these, in common with the injured and surface-changed, had evidently lain long exposed in the open before they were incorporated and carried in the beds from which they were eventually extracted. It is of course possible that many unblemished, heavily white-coated palaeoliths never became the constituents of a gravel or of the congeliturbate, but remained on the surface since Palaeolithic times.

Lastly, the high glaze on the surface of some implements (e.g. the chert specimen (fig. 3, no. 6)) records the prolonged action of water and sand as by a flowing and charged stream.

V. ARCHAEOLOGY

Materials

In the palaeoliths selected for special attention in the foregoing (fig. 1, nos. 1, 2, and 3; fig. 3, nos. 1-6) there are represented the principal materials used in the manufacture of the 500 palaeoliths collected. The majority are of chert, but many are of flint, a few of indurated sandstone, while brownish-grey quartzite pebbles

resembling the Bunter material of the Midlands have served for some implements. Dr. F. S. Wallis, Director of the City Museum, Bristol, identifies the chert as coming from the Warminster-Westbury Greensand. It seems inferior in quality to that used for the manufacture of the well-known palaeoliths from Broom, near Axminster in Devon. Honey-coloured, rather than reddish like the implements from the famous sites in the Axe valley, the chert artifacts from around Bristol are about half the size of those in a normal suite from Broom which so many match typologically. The flint specimens seem to have been struck from pebbles derived ultimately from the Chalk to the north-east and east. The material itself is uniformly of fairly good quality. Dr. Wallis says that the sandstone, the dark as well as the light grey and finer-grained, used for some of the tools is of the Failand Ridge variety. No more can be said of the quartzite than that in the form of complete or split pebbles it had attracted the tool-makers.

Neither the unaltered and sharp-edged objects from Shirehampton and Chapel Pill Farm, nor the injured artifacts described in the foregoing for their geological implications, are representative of the general aspect of the palaeoliths in the Hughes Collection. For most of the chert and flint Palaeolithic implements are those mentioned above as being much affected by patination. In the chert artifacts this is a dirty creamy white, and in the flints is generally tinged light ochreous in bands and patches. Some of the chert specimens are yellowish and have a rotted look (e.g. the flake, fig. 5, no. 1) which, with the seemingly crude workmanship of many tools fashioned in pebbles, often suggests a greater antiquity and older cultural facies than their appearance warrants. Usually the flake-scars are worn shallow and merge into the smoothed ridges, and edges are thickened and blunt. To a lesser extent this appears also in most of the sandstone tools which retain their pristine hues. In contradistinction to all these, the later-looking, post-Palaeolithic specimens, chert and flint, which have been collected on the high ground above the Bristol Avon, have quite unblemished surfaces and sharp edges.

The Palaeoliths

General observations. In 1928 Messrs. Davies and Fry described and figured the main types of artifacts which had been recognized among the palaeoliths found up till then in the Bristol district. Thus several bifacially flaked implements, some edge-trimmed flake-tools and cores were mentioned in their communication, but owing doubtless to a lack of specimens, they made no reference to rough improvised tools. Today vastly enlarged series proclaim that this deficiency does not exist. While the number of objects from the lower reaches of the Bristol Avon has become imposing indeed, it is still more important that in the light of present knowledge the local industries can be shown to have been as comprehensive in their output as any that flourished during Lower Palaeolithic times in what are today south-eastern England and north-eastern France.

The relics demonstrating this fall into well-defined groups. One, including core-tools, is composed of bifacially flaked implements, such as hand-axes of normal shapes, ovates, cleavers, and sundry tools which may be conveniently designated

choppers (below, pp. 19-20 and fig. 4, no. 11).¹ That the series of core-tools includes examples of the curious segmental or 'tea-cosy' type (e.g. fig. 4, no. 6) alone would speak for the comprehensiveness of the local Palaeolithic industries. It is significant, however, that several implements which are treated on two faces, in the same way as the foregoing, can be separated from them as being manufactured on flakes (e.g. fig. 4, nos. 7 and 9).

Bifaces. The bifacially flaked implements range from pebbles simply brought to elementary hand-axe forms (especially as fig. 4, nos. 1-3) to quite delicately shaped and flatly dressed ovates. One may not assert that the tools of most rudimentary appearance are attributable to Abbevillian or the earliest Acheulian workmanship, since stratigraphical and other details are wanting. This is said despite the fact that the extremely ancient look of several is already enhanced, apparently by wear and weather (e.g. fig. 4, nos. 1, 2, and 3). And, owing to the character and patination of the material, this condition makes identification even more difficult. It would seem too that the quality of the stone did not allow of the applying of the finer techniques. To this cause also are no doubt due such apparent anomalies as the combining of the triangularity of crude hand-axes of the most primitive and archaic aspect, achieved by bold elementary flaking, with the marked twisting of an edge or with other late Acheulian feature (no. 5).

Nevertheless there was probably nothing to prevent exponents of the Abbevillian culture, or of its immediate hand-axe manufacturing descendant, the Early Acheulian, from reaching this region during what, according to the Abbé Breuil's long-term Lower Palaeolithic chronology, would be respectively the equivalent of the Günz-Mindel interglacial period² and a spell of climatic improvement in the second glaciation (Mindel).³ Yet, despite the state to which so many bifacial implements have been reduced by natural agencies, an ascription to Middle Acheulian industry is indicated for most, and the styles of working point to two main industrial phases stretching over a very long span of time.

All the implements of Middle Acheulian facies can be strictly matched typologically by unscathed standards from around London. It is enough to cite those contemporary with the Middle Gravel at Swanscombe, Kent,⁴ the clutches from equivalent deposits within the Metropolitan area,⁵ in Bedfordshire,⁶ and from the fluviatile gravels of the middle Thames as typified in the Lower Boyn Hill (Furze Platt-Lent Rise) Terrace near Maidenhead, Berks.,⁷ and Burnham and Farnham

¹ This type is of fairly common occurrence in Middle Acheulian industries, though notice has seldom been drawn directly upon it. The particular form illustrated here is, however, only one of several in a well-defined class of tools adapted for being held in the hand. See, for example, *Antiq. Journ.*, vol. xx, 1940, pl. XLVIII, no. 35, and p. 257.

² *Op. cit.*, 1932, p. 573.

³ H. Breuil, 'The Pleistocene Succession in the Somme Valley', in *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, vol. v, 1939, pp. 34 and 38.

⁴ R. A. Smith and H. Dewey, 'Stratification at Swanscombe: Report on Excavations made on

behalf of the British Museum and H.M. Geological Survey', in *Archaeologia*, vol. lxiv, 1912-13, pp. 184-90; Report on the Swanscombe Skull, *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, vol. lxviii, 1938, pp. 34-54.

⁵ Summarized with bibliographic references by John Evans, *Ancient Stone Implements*, London, 1897 edition, pp. 581-91.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 530-8.

⁷ A. D. Lacaille, 'The Palaeoliths from the Gravels of the Lower Boyn Hill Terrace around Maidenhead', in *Antiq. Journ.*, vol. xx, 1940, pp. 256 ff.

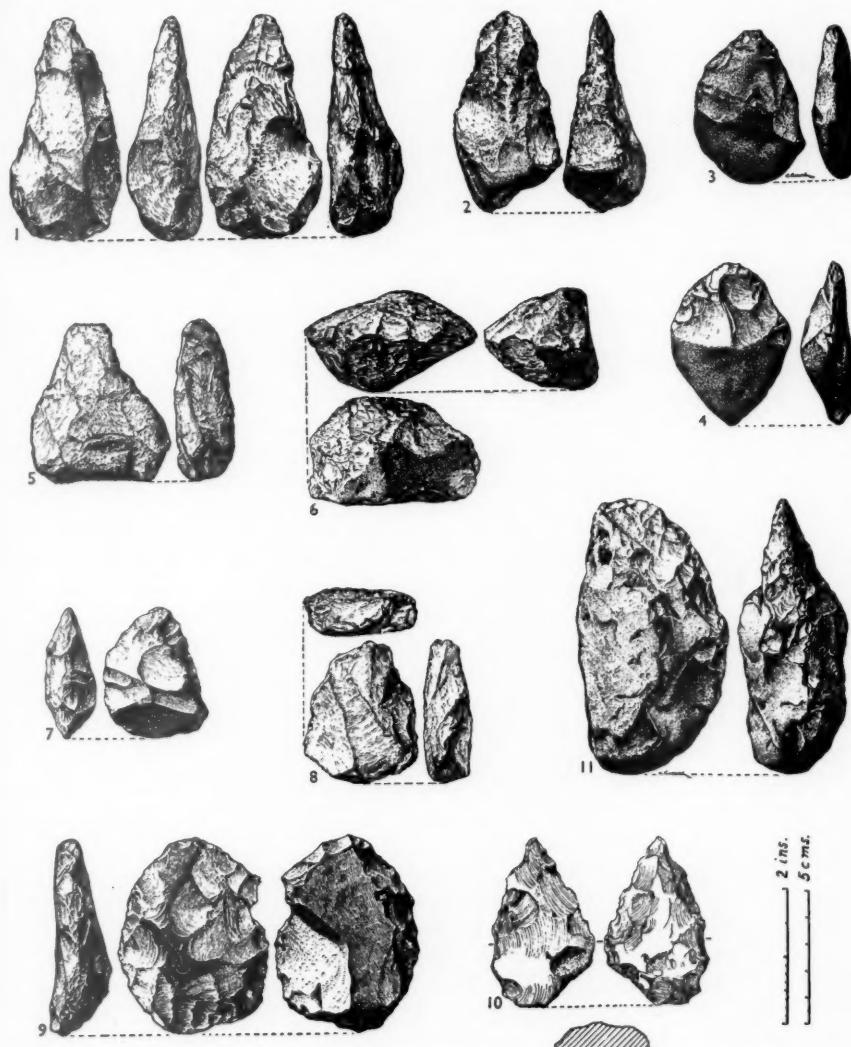


FIG. 4. Palaeolithic bifacially flaked implements from Chapel Pill Farm, Abbots Leigh. (1)

Royal, Bucks.¹ These tools of the better-defined facies of the largest group found between Bristol and the sea are also paralleled morphologically and technologically by the bifaces, at least one of which, recovered in derived state at Barnwood by

¹ Lacaille, *op. cit.*, 1940, pp. 256 ff.

Mrs. E. M. Clifford, F.S.A.,¹ has been regarded as so important by Professor L. S. Palmer.² Again, they are matched in the principal series of Acheulian artifacts from around Broom.³ Invariably smaller, however, than the hand-axes and ovates from the Axe valley, the implements of the Bristol Avon nevertheless conform strictly with the majority of the Acheulian bifacially trimmed implements known up to now from other valleys in the Atlantic drainage in England. The additional evidence advanced in these notes shows further how these specimens from the west country and Severn basin belong to the same Lower Palaeolithic complex as flourished on the eastern side of the country during the second interglacial period and for some considerable time later.

The small, delicate ovates, cordiform and other, of chert (e.g. fig. 4, no. 3), sandstone (fig. 3, no. 3), and flint (fig. 4, no. 9), which proclaim the persistence of Middle Acheulian industry in the lower reaches of the Bristol Avon, are thinner and much better preserved than the bulk of the local bifacial tools. Their shallow and narrow flake-scars register a more advanced technique than is shown by the majority of the Acheulian flaked artifacts. Straight edges prevail among the more advanced-looking pieces, but the Hughes Collection also includes fair ovates with the twist that is regarded as characteristic of later Middle Acheulian workmanship (e.g. fig. 4, no. 8).

About twenty-five years ago some fine bifaces from the Bristol area were submitted to expert opinion and were pronounced Mousterian,⁴ as it was usual then so to designate core- and flake-tools of Lower Palaeolithic facies believed to mark a distinct advance on ordinary well-developed Acheulian forms. Such an ascription might well be pardoned even today in the case of an interesting sharply pointed, bifacially trimmed flake (fig. 4, no. 10). In the character of its trimming, however, this bears comparison with the flatly dressed scrapers, knives, and points produced in any prolific and truly representative Acheulian industry from Middle onward.

A number of distinctive flakes and cores, as will be shown, can be linked with the main group of bifaces in the collection. The association enhances the industrial resemblances between the series of Middle Acheulian aspect from the Bristol area and those from the gravels at the classic valley sites in south-eastern England which provide our standards.

Flakes and derivatives. Much importance attaches to several sorts of flakes. Heavily patinated surfaces, appearance, and facies serve to distinguish those referable to the chief Lower Palaeolithic crafts from the obviously later-looking, unaltered and sharp-edged examples. To Mr. Hughes's flakes, the present author can add a few found by himself on the surface near Chapel Pill Farm and extracted from loose materials about 14 in. down on the north side of the railway cutting east of Ham Green Halt.

The principal inference that can be drawn from all the Palaeolithic flakes is that the raw material was so small as to restrict the artisan. For the waste from the

¹ Burkitt, *op. cit.*, 1921; Clifford, *op. cit.*, 1930; pp. 147-8.
eadem, op. cit., 1936.

² 'Some Pleistocene Breccias near the Severn Estuary', in *Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, vol. xlv, 1934,

³ Summarized with bibliographic references by John Evans, *op. cit., supra*, 1897, p. 639.

⁴ Davies and Fry, *op. cit.*, 1928, p. 167.

manufacture of such tools as hand-axes and ovates was seldom of a size to permit of its being used freely for fashioning into implements or even for improvised tools needing little or no trimming. Hence the artisans applied themselves to obtain flakes from nodules and cores.

Some of the flakes are so thick that they might be more fittingly described as split pebbles. Prominent bulbs of percussion under markedly inclined striking-platforms proclaim that hard stone was used to detach them from the parent, but the normal size of the chert and flint did not allow of an anvil-technique but only that of the hammer-stone.

In a number of small specimens the salient characteristics suggest the waste of Abbevillian hand-axes under manufacture or of the blocking-out of some Acheulian bifaces. Again, several flakes answer the standards of an early Clactonian industry (e.g. fig. 5, no. 1). The granulated and porous-looking surfaces of this, as representing a few of the heavier artifacts, argue also for great antiquity. But until future researches show that these flakes can be placed on their stratigraphical merits, they must remain indefinite. Yet, it is attractive meantime to see them standing as if in the same technological relationship to a late Abbevillian, or early Acheulian industry, as a number of more delicate and distinctive flakes to the well-developed Acheulian bifacial tools.

Other flakes in this group of crude, thickly patinated, sometimes rotted-looking and lightly yellowish, are considerably worn along the edges. Edge-dressing appears on a few, though in none has it been sufficient to bring the flake to definitive shape. Since so many of these specimens are actually the larger part of a nodule, no true and typically associative cores can be figured here. This is a pity because one would wish to learn more of the spread of the methods adopted in the great centres of the older Stone Age industries.

Besides the rudimentary pieces which have been removed from nodules without preliminary treatment, there are many flakes which have been struck from dressed cores. Their striking-platforms testify to varying degrees of preparation before removal. Thus some have plain butts (e.g. fig. 5, no. 2); in others the butts bear facets (e.g. fig. 5, nos. 3 and 4). These are in fact flake-scars truncated in the working down of the core and/or in the detaching of the desired flake. Again, in a few the faceted butts display additional retouches which affect the edges as well as the original truncated scars. For these implements, the designation of butt-end scraper is often most appropriate (e.g. fig. 5, no. 4). On the upper surface of the majority of these flakes there occur ridges and scars resulting from the treatment of the core or nodule. The preparatory work, however, has not always entirely removed the natural crust of the parent nodule or pebble. Hence a number of the flakes are corticated in patches (e.g. fig. 5, nos. 2, 3 and 5). On account of their condition and technological analogies, these flakes can confidently be placed in the Palaeolithic sequence. For they are identified with the many similarly treated objects which have been found elsewhere in immediate association with the bifaces of well-developed Middle Acheulian industry contemporary with the containing fluviatile gravel. So, these specimens from the valley of the Bristol Avon indicate that at their peak the regional hand-axe producing industries were advanced and comprehen-

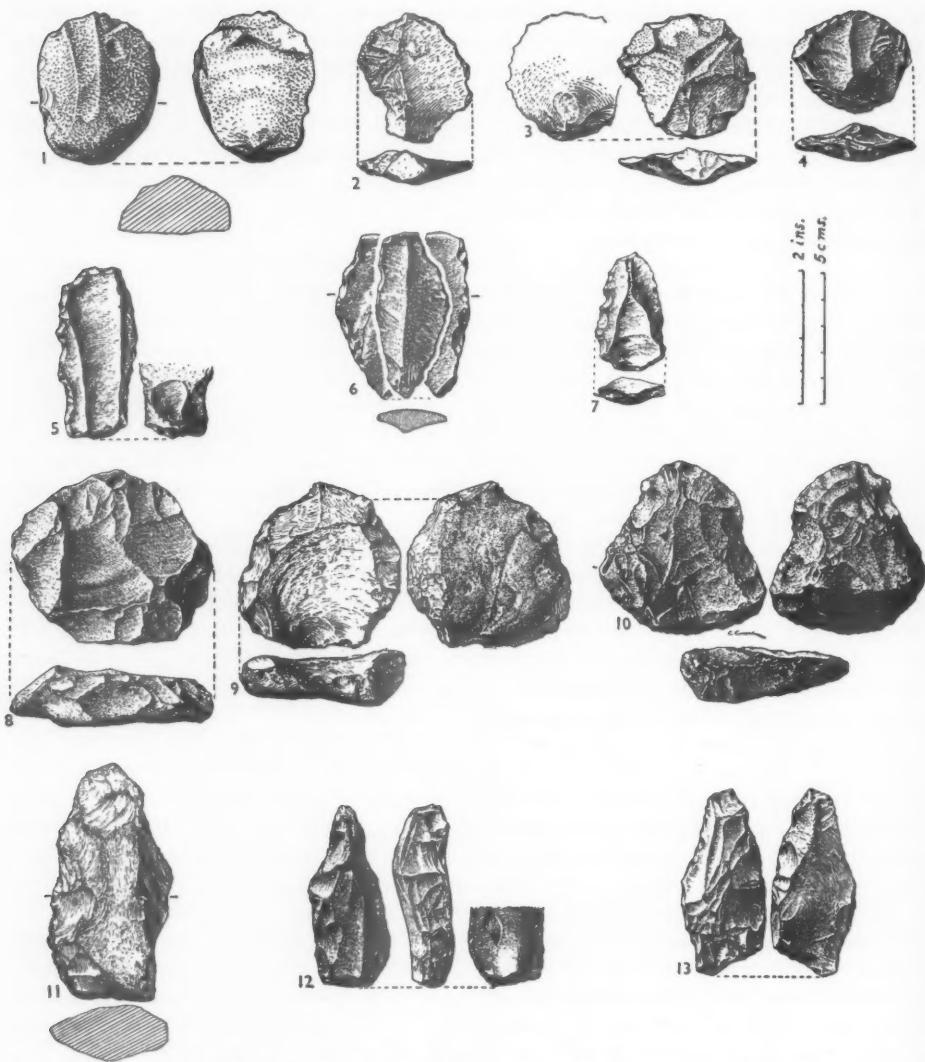


FIG. 5. Various palaeoliths from Chapel Pill Farm, Abbots Leigh: Nos. 1-4, 6, flakes; nos. 5 and 7, blades; nos. 8 and 9, cores; no. 10, hand-axe; nos. 11-13, compound tools. (1)

hensive and their practitioners well skilled. For this is shown by the Levalloisian character of the butts of the many flakes of a size and shape that were predetermined on the core.

There occur also a few blades, some parallel-sided (e.g. fig. 5, no. 5), some elongated and almost leaf-shaped (e.g. fig. 5, nos. 6 and 7). Edge-worn, even

slightly dressed, these objects were evidently intended for service as scrapers, knives, saws, &c. They are perfectly conformable with an element of fine flakes and of veritable blades noted in the output of developed Middle Acheulian industries in the Thames valley.¹ The specimens figured here may, however, be very late Lower Palaeolithic products.

Cores. Hughes collected a large number of cores from which were detached these flakes with the distinctive butts. Although stamped so clearly with the typical imprints of Levalloisian technique, the residual cores are much thinner than the familiar 'tortoise-cores' from regions where the Palaeolithic knappers had abundant supplies of large-sized flint nodules. Here we find instead veritable miniatures formed out of flattish pebbles, most of chert, seldom more than 7.5 cm. in diameter. Hence these cores (as fig. 5, nos. 8 and 9), which so enhance the interest, technological appeal, and value of the series, seldom bear more than the bed or hollow resulting from the removal of one sizeable flake. One such core has been made into a triangular hand-axe by fine overall flaking (fig. 5, no. 10). Though this implement is certainly a curiosity because of the central hollow which betrays its origin, yet it is not without parallels from other regions.²

These cores and the flakes related to them support the contention which, advanced by some inquirers many years ago, has been confirmed by many finds.³ Although no further proof is needed, yet it is satisfactory to know that fresh evidence has come recently from gravel-workings in the lower Thames valley⁴ to show the contemporaneity of some Acheulian bifacially flaked implements and flakes and cores of the type just discussed. It is thus demonstrated that preparations of striking-platforms for the detaching of predetermined flakes was of Acheulian devising. Arising with the full growth of industries of the Middle phase, this specialized method was therefore an earlier invention than that formerly credited to man only when he had reached the stage of Levalloisian and Mousterian cultural development.

Improvised tools. Of course, as in all representative Palaeolithic collections, tools improvised in pebbles, pieces of stone, and flakes occupy a place in the assemblage from the lower reaches of the Bristol Avon. All display along margins of convenient shape the signs of wear or varying degrees of trimming. Showing method in their arrangement, these marks of simple treatment are usually easily distinguished from the more elaborate natural and often irregular scarring which appears on stones acted upon by solifluxion, and not infrequently mistaken for the work of man. Among the improvised tools are a miscellany of scrapers, knives, choppers, and the like. Among the last, three tools stand out. One, rudely flaked out of a piece of

¹ A. D. Lacaille, 'The Evolution of the Knife in the Old Stone Age', in *Science, Medicine and History. Essays on the Evolution of Scientific Thought and Medical Practice written in honour of Charles Singer*, edited by E. Ashworth Underwood, Oxford, 1953, vol. i, pp. 16-34; K. P. Oakley, *Man the Tool-maker*, British Museum (Natural History), 1950, 2nd edition, p. 45, fig. 19b.

² Cf. a bifacially flaked tool from the neighbour-

hood of Wallingford, Berks., described by Dr. W. J. Arkell in his 'Palaeoliths from the Wallingford Fan-Gravels', in *Oxoniana*, vol. vii/ix, 1945, offprint, pp. 14 and 16.

³ Lacaille, *op. cit.*, 1940, pp. 259-63.

⁴ P. J. Tester, 'Early Use of the Levallois Technique in the Palaeolithic Succession of the Lower Thames', in *Archaeol. News Letter*, vol. iv, no. 8, May 1952, pp. 118-19.

tabular flint, combines a sort of pick and double side-scraper (fig. 5, no. 11). Smaller versions appear in two examples simply shaped in thick flint flakes (nos. 12 and 13).

VI. CONCLUSIONS

Whereas so little is known of Palaeolithic industries in the Severn valley, much has been written on the Pleistocene geology. Hence there are now available several admirable papers treating with a great wealth of detail the development of the river and of its main tributaries above the area with which these notes are concerned. It is otherwise with the Bristol Avon, for, while this river and many of its Pleistocene associations are glimpsed in a number of works, we still await a paper in which it is considered in the same way as the Severn. However, it is from the valley of the Bristol Avon that the palaeoliths come to fill the gap that has existed in our knowledge of the spread of Lower Palaeolithic man in this part of the Atlantic drainage. Once fully known, these remains and their associations must have an important bearing on future geological and archaeological studies of the region. To this end the following conclusions are advanced in the hope that they may be modified and expanded, and in the wish that the Lower Palaeolithic artifacts of the Bristol Avon shall find their place in the Old Stone Age sequence of north-western Europe.

While then it is felt that no definite pronouncement can be made now on the age of the Bristol Avon valley deposits which have yielded palaeoliths, some deductions can yet be drawn from the representative series of artifacts. Typology is not a sure guide, and it presents many possible pitfalls, particularly where surface-finds are concerned. Here, however, we seem to run little risk of error, since we have fortunately very large numbers of characteristic objects. Of unmistakable facies these appear as the principal group, and there also occur related artifacts which are hardly less important. Thus the great majority of the palaeoliths from Shirehampton and Chapel Pill Farm are attributable to Middle Acheulian culture exactly as this is typified in England. The implements range from its earlier to its more evolved phases, that is to say from possible Abbevillian and Clactonian, and an apparent equivalent of the Somme valley Acheulian I and II, in the lower rank, to the equivalent of the Somme valley Acheulian III-IV, in the upper, and beyond to an Acheulio-Levalloisian.

It has long been established on geological, faunistic, and allied grounds that the industries of the Middle Acheulian of England, which are equated with Acheulian III-IV of the Somme valley, arose and flourished during the second interglacial period. Commonly called the Great or Acheulian Interglacial, and correlated with the Mindel-Riss Interglacial of Penck's and Brückner's Alpine scheme, this was the period of the Boyne Hill Terrace and the laying down of its gravels in the middle and lower reaches of the Thames. It has an overriding claim to importance because it covered the aggrading of the Middle Gravels of Swanscombe, these classic containers of the exemplars of Middle Acheulian industry and of the remains of contemporary Swanscombe Man. At this famous site in Kent, however, there are indications which suggest that the Great Interglacial may not have been terminated until the second maximum of the third (Riss) advance of the Pleistocene ice.¹

¹ K. P. Oakley, 'Swanscombe Man', in *Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, vol. lixiii, 1952, p. 290.

The Riss glaciation of the Continent was of far greater magnitude than the correlative complex of ice-movements which succeeded the Great Interglacial in these islands.¹ Of these advances, that of direct import here was the Main Irish Sea Glaciation, the episode regarded as the period of downcutting to the base and the subsequent building of the Main Terrace, and of the deposition of the lower Barnwood and other solifluxion (*tjaele*) gravels that followed the aggradation of the Kidderminster Terrace during the Great Interglacial.²

No publication, however, shows any satisfactory correspondence of the terrace lying about 100 ft. above O.D. at Shirehampton and at Chapel Pill Farm to a bench in the Severn valley. And in the absence of animal bones as indicators, these terraces at approximately 100 ft. above O.D., between Bristol and the sea, cannot be conclusively linked with that at about 100 ft. above the river at Twerton near Bath, from the deposits of which remains of a predominantly cold-resisting Pleistocene fauna, including mammoth, were long ago recovered,³ but from which no palaeoliths have been traced. Bones of unspecified elephant were found early last century in gravels at Shirehampton,⁴ but the record from the Bath area is of a fauna similar to that from the lower unstratified *tjaele*-fan or solifluxion gravels of the Cotswolds at Barnwood, near Gloucester. It was from this horizon, assigned by Professor L. J. Wills to the period of the Main Irish Sea Glaciation⁵ (correlated above with the Riss glaciation of the Alps), that Mrs. Clifford recovered the derived but well-preserved Acheulian hand-axe of developed workmanship mentioned in the foregoing⁶ as one of the rare palaeoliths reported from the Severn valley. In sandy loam or brickearth, the second bed above, a flint implement of apparently much more advanced type was found.⁷ Dr. Mabel E. Tomlinson points out, however, that this does not necessarily mean that the containing deposit is much later than the underlying gravels from which it may have been derived by decalcification.⁸

Evidence from territory outside but not far from the Severn drainage tends to confirm the correlations advanced above, and to uphold a Great Interglacial (Mindel-Riss) ascription of the main assemblage of Palaeolithic (Middle Acheulian) implements from the lower reaches of the Bristol Avon. Thus a few rolled Abbevillian and Early Acheulian hand-axes and some rolled and unrolled Middle Acheulian bifaces have been extracted from the fan-gravels of the Chilterns

¹ Whereas the Riss or third glaciation comprised the greatest advance of the ice on the Continent, it was the earlier Great Eastern, Main Glaciation, or Second Great Welsh Glaciation which, with its concomitants, was the correlative of the continental Mindel or second glaciation and reached farthest in south Britain. It is particularly interesting that in England deposits as far from its main southern limits as Cornwall and Devon register the influence exerted by this powerful complex (W. J. Arkell, 'The Pleistocene Rocks at Trebetherick Point, North Cornwall: Their Interpretation and Correlation', in *Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, vol. liv, 1943; cf. Colonel Ransom Pickard's Presidential Address, *Transactions of*

the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art, 1946, vol. lxxviii, pp. 207-28).

² E. L. J. Wills, 'The Pleistocene Development of the Severn from Bridgnorth to the sea', in *Quart. Journ. Soc.*, vol. xciv, 1938, p. 232.

³ Oriel, *op. cit.*, 1903, pp. 235-40.

⁴ J. Rutter, *Delineations of North-West Somerset*, 1829, p. 315.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*, *supra*.

⁶ pp. 15-16.

⁷ Clifford, *op. cit.*, 1930, pp. 208, 212-13.

⁸ 'Pleistocene Gravels of the Cotswold Sub-edge Plain from Mickleton to the Frome Valley', in *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.*, vol. xcvi, 1941, p. 411.

excavated commercially around Wallingford, Berks.¹ Like those at approximately 100 ft. above O.D. at Shirehampton and Chapel Pill Farm, these deposits are referable to the complex whereof the Irish Sea Glaciation (corresponding to the Riss expansion of the Alpine glaciers) was a concomitant.² These fan-gravels must therefore belong also to the same period of glacial intensity as the analogous deposits of the Cotswolds. As Dr. W. J. Arkell points out, these fan-gravels of the Cotswolds, having yielded Acheulian tools of well-developed facies, provide an archaeological link with the Thames basin.³ The chain, of which this link forms part, is now extended to the valley of the Bristol Avon by the comparable principal Palaeolithic contents of the solifluxion materials similar to, and assuredly contemporary with, those described in such detail in the masterly works cited here.

Resemblance of the Bristol Avon series to the Wallingford implements is enhanced by the discovery in the Wallingford fan-gravels of two artifact groups, one at the lower and the other at the upper extreme of the scale. For, besides the rolled Abbevillian and Early Acheulian tools, there occur unblemished bifaces of highly developed Acheulian types.

If the Hughes Collection includes true Abbevillian, Clactonian, or earliest Acheulian relics, then they must derive from an older horizon than that about the 100-ft. contour in the Bristol district. That traces of extremely ancient Pleistocene features are present has been claimed by more than one inquirer. Caution must be exercised, however, as gravel above 350 ft. O.D. in the district may with good cause be attributed to a river system infinitely earlier than Pleistocene. Still, fine flint and chert gravels between 300 and 250 ft. above O.D., for example at Walton Down in Abbots Leigh parish, in the Avon gorge near Stokesleigh Camp and Black Rocks Quarry, on both sides of the Conham gorge, and at Elston, are suggestive as possible relics of a high river terrace such as has not long ago been determined to exist in the valley of the Thames.⁴

Indeed, it would be strange if remnants of terraces at elevations higher than 100 ft. do not exist in the valley of the Bristol Avon when they appear in adjacent basins.⁵ In expansion of this possibility it may be suggested that the artifacts in question may have been incorporated in deposits attributable to a cycle of varying climatic conditions from at least one period of glacial activity to another. According to geologists working in the Severn drainage, this means the period between the Great (First) Welsh Glaciation and the Main Eastern Glaciation. This period, therefore, was the correlative of the passage from the first to the second glaciation of the Alpine sequence, Günz and Mindel respectively. Hence by extension it could be held to correspond to the span of King's and Oakley's stages I-V in the Thames valley,⁶ which include the Great Eastern Drift (III; Second Welsh Glacia-

¹ W. J. Arkell, *op. cit.*, 1945.

² *Idem*, 'The Pleistocene Rocks at Trebetherick Point, North Cornwall: Their Interpretation and Correlation', in *Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, vol. liv, 1943, p. 151.

³ *Idem*.

⁴ S. W. Wooldridge, 'The Glaciation of the London Basin and the Evolution of the Lower Thames Drainage System', in *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.*, vol. xciv, 1938, pp. 627-67.

⁵ Wills, *op. cit.*, 1938, *passim*.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, 1936, pp. 55-57.

tion of the western Midlands), Early Boyne Hill and Lower Barnfield (V), with their Palaeolithic range from Abbevillian to Early Acheulian.

Arkell believes that the presence of the evolved Acheulian forms in the fan-gravels at Wallingford indicates that the beds were at least in part reconstructed during a glacial episode that may be correlated with the fourth or Würm glaciation in central and western Europe,¹ presumably an early phase. Reconstruction of the congeliturbate gravel, such as Dr. Arkell suggests is indicated in the southern Chilterns, possibly occurred also on the slopes of the Failand Ridge above Chapel Pill Farm long after the Main Irish Sea Glaciation. Increments to the deposits, for instance by melt-waters and/or solifluxion, may have included late and advanced Acheulian tools, to mention but the suggestive delicate pointed implement bifacially worked in a flint flake (fig. 5, no. 10 of the bifaces from Chapel Pill Farm) which ranks perhaps with the tool reported by Mrs. Clifford in 1930² from the upper part of deposits in a gravel-pit at Barnwood, Glos., and called Moustierian ever since. And some of the simple but finer flakes, and blades, with plain or faceted butts may yet prove to be products of more developed Acheulio-Levalloisian manufacture, or even of the purer facies of a flake-industry, comparable to Levalloisian III and IV of the Somme valley,³ which appear to be related to deposits assignable to the second maximum of the third or Riss glaciation.

With the gradual trend to general refrigeration, which brought about the tundra conditions and a changing fauna associated with the last great readvance of the Pleistocene ice in Britain, which is correlated with Würm glaciation of the Continent, Lower Palaeolithic man tended more and more to abandon the riverside localities where he had formerly found so congenial an environment. He would thus resort increasingly to caves and rock-shelters such as the Mendip Hills offered, but he would continue for some time to manufacture tools after the old traditions which he supplemented with new types, until fresh ideas entered with early representatives of modern man.

The foregoing shows, however, that it was the Middle Acheulian that dominated and endured longest among the older expressions of Palaeolithic culture to reach and develop in these parts when Britain was a peninsula of the continent of Europe. From the decline of the more ancient to the rise of new cultures, it flourished during the Great Interglacial of British chronology which is correlated with the Mindel-Riss period of the Continent. With relics of probably greater and even of lesser age, the products of the Middle Acheulian industries proclaim the immense antiquity of human history in the Bristol region.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Tribute has to be paid in the first place to the memory of Robert Hughes, owing to whose zeal so much is now added to our knowledge of the diffusion of Lower Palaeolithic industries in the west of England, and the author wishes to record his gratitude to Mrs. Hughes, of Shirehampton, for the facilities she so kindly afforded

¹ *Idem* in *op. cit.*, 1945, p. 17.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 208 and 212, and fig. 4, no. 1.

³ Breuil and Koslowski, *opp. cit.*, 1931 and 1932,

passim.

him to study her late husband's collection, and for her generous hospitality. To Dr. F. S. Wallis, Director of the City Museum, Bristol, he is greatly obliged for professional help and many courtesies which have facilitated his work. Dr. D. T. Donovan, Senior Lecturer in the Department of Geology in the University of Bristol, has placed the author in his debt by responding readily to many requests and by discussing problems connected with the inquiries. In this respect also, Mr. T. R. Fry, research assistant in the same department, rendered many services, particularly by placing an intimate knowledge of localities at the writer's disposal and by going over much of the ground with him, and not least by giving him access to a remarkable assemblage of palaeoliths from the Bristol district. The time spent in the field under the stimulating conduct of Dr. G. A. Kellaway, of H.M. Geological Survey and Museum, proved invaluable, and this geologist's continued interest in the progress of the investigations has been much appreciated. Thanks are due to Mr. G. C. Boon, now at the Borough Museum, Reading, for having shown in the best possible way his familiarity with the valley of the Bristol Avon by taking most appropriate photographs. Lastly, it is a pleasing duty to acknowledge a grant awarded by the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries to the University of Bristol Spelaeological Society. This permitted of the carrying of researches much farther than would otherwise have been possible.

DESCRIPTION OF IMPLEMENTS, ETC.

Fig. 1, no. 1. Bifacially flaked cleaver; boldly worked in pebble of waxy, honey-hued chert; 2.85 in. (0.072 m.) by 2.1 in. (0.0535 m.) by 1.2 in. (0.0305 m.); lower part untreated; edges still sharp in places but worn by use in others, particularly at the top; ridges almost imperceptibly smoothed; found in gravel at 95 ft. O.D., Grove Leaze, Shirehampton.

No. 2. Quadrate hand-axe; boldly flaked on both faces in pebble of waxy, honey-hued chert; 2.4 in. (0.06 m.) by 1.6 in. (0.04 m.) by 1 in. (0.025 m.); material worked to cutting-edge except at untreated corticated butt; top apparently trimmed at notch caused by an injury, probably ancient; edge sharp except where worn by use; flake-ridges only very slightly smoothed; from gravel at 85 ft. O.D. in Station Road, Shirehampton.

No. 3. Slug-shaped implement; except for two small patches of crust, flaked over both faces in pebble of waxy, light honey-hued chert; cutting-edge all round, bruised; flake-ridges much smoothed and flake-beds glazed by the action of sand and water; 2.3 in. (0.059 m.) by 1.7 in. (0.043 m.) by 0.75 in. (0.0185 m.); from gravel at 80 ft. O.D., in Shirehampton.

Fig. 3, no. 1. Triangular hand-axe; boldly flaked on both faces in pebble of brownish-grey Failand Ridge sandstone; tip wanting, otherwise specimen well preserved, edges quite sharp; crust left untreated at base; 2.9 in. (0.0735 m.) by 2.5 in. (0.064 m.) by 1.35 in. (0.034 m.); from head at 100 ft. O.D., Chapel Pill Farm.

No. 2. Triangular hand-axe; fairly flaked in pebble of honey-hued chert, retaining crust at base; cutting-edge twisted on one side, and slightly bruised; flake ridges dulled; 3 in. (0.076 m.) by 2.35 in. (0.0595 m.) by 1 in. (0.025 m.); from head at 100 ft. O.D., Chapel Pill Farm.

No. 3. Ovate; finely flaked bifacially in flake of grey banded Failand Ridge sandstone; cutting-edge all round, fairly sharp; flake ridges dulled; 2.85 in. (0.0725 m.) by 1.95 in. (0.049 m.) by 0.7 in. (0.018 m.); from head at 100 ft. O.D., Chapel Pill Farm.

No. 4. Flake of dark greyish-green flint, patinated golden ochre, with some ferruginous stains;

inclined striking-platform and prominent bulb of percussion; shows signs of rough retouch on right edge; but this much injured, as also other margins at different periods later to manufacture; ridges crushed; striated on bulbar face; 2.755 in. (0.0705 m.) by 2.3 in. (0.058 m.) by 0.9 in. (0.023 m.); from surface at 100 ft. O.D., Chapel Pill Farm.

No. 5. Thin, wide, short flake of Levalloisian type, heavily patinated and crushed; flint, retaining some crust; struck from well-prepared core; edges worn by use as well as injury; bulbar face striated; 1.6 in. (0.04 m.) by 2.65 in. (0.067 m.) by 1.4 in. (0.01 m.); found in head at 100 ft. O.D., Chapel Pill Farm.

No. 6. Compound tool having convex and concave retouched scraper edges; made on a brown chert flake; considerably smoothed, apparently by the action of sand and water; the bulbar end removed by working; 2.3 in. (0.058 m.) by 1.7 in. (0.044 m.) by 0.5 in. (0.012 m.); found in head at 100 ft. O.D., Chapel Pill Farm.

Fig. 4, no. 1. Hand-axe of chert, elongated, Middle Acheulian type; heavily patinated, crust entirely flaked away, later accidental flaking indicated by lighter patina on some scars on nether surface; 3.7 in. (0.094 m.) by 1.75 in. (0.044 m.) by 1 in. (0.025 m.); from surface at 100 ft. O.D., Chapel Pill Farm.

No. 2. Diminutive elongated hand-axe boldly flaked in chert pebble, heavily patinated, with ferruginous stains; much crust remaining at butt and on upper surface; Middle Acheulian type; 2.8 in. (0.071 m.) by 1.5 in. (0.038 m.) by 1.1 in. (0.028 m.); found on surface at 100 ft. O.D., Chapel Pill Farm.

No. 3. Diminutive hand-axe flaked in small chert pebble, the crust remaining on at least one-third of whole surface; patinated, much weathered and considerably worn; of archaic aspect; 2.35 in. (0.059 m.) by 1.7 in. (0.043 m.) by 0.7 in. (0.0175 m.); found on surface at 50 ft. O.D., Chapel Pill Farm.

No. 4. Diminutive hand-axe worked in chert pebble; only half-treated on one face, but entirely on the other; workmanship apparently Middle Acheulian, cutting-edge only slightly blunted but flake ridges slightly smoothed; 2.4 in. (0.061 m.) by 1.8 in. (0.046 m.) by 1.7 in. (0.043 m.); found just under the surface in head at 100 ft. O.D., Chapel Pill Farm.

No. 5. Diminutive triangular hand-axe, straight tip, possibly reworked; edges worn and flake ridges much weathered; chert; boldly flaked on one face and finely on the other to straight cutting-edge on one side and to a twisted one on the other, leaving small patches of crust on the faces and entirely at base; 2.4 in. (0.061 m.) by 2.1 in. (0.053 m.) by 0.8 in. (0.02 m.); found on surface at 100 ft. O.D., Chapel Pill Farm.

No. 6. Segmental tool ('tea-cosy'); a poor specimen of a somewhat uncommon type, worked in chert pebble, showing in ochreous patches some original natural scarring; the Palaeolithic flake-scars resulting from working patinated and ferruginous-stained in places; cutting-edge still sharp but one lower edge of base much injured; 2.5 in. (0.064 m.) long, by 1.6 in. (0.04 m.) high, by 1.45 in. (0.037 m.) thick; found on surface at 80 ft. O.D., Chapel Pill Farm.

No. 7. Diminutive ovate, asymmetric shape, finely flaked on both faces leaving untouched the natural scar at base, and entirely crustless, of well-developed Middle Acheulian facies, flaked to cutting-edge all round, chert heavily patinated, well preserved, edges fairly sharp; 1.85 in. (0.0465 m.) by 1.55 in. (0.039 m.) by 0.7 in. (0.017 m.); found just under surface in head at 100 ft. O.D., Chapel Pill Farm.

No. 8. Ovate, manufactured in flake struck from prepared core of Acheulio-Levalloisian type; details of characteristically faceted butt still discernible; chert, heavily patinated; cutting-edge all round, with pronounced twist on the two sides, well preserved; 2.05 in. (0.052 m.) by 1.75 in. (0.044 m.) by 0.4 in. (0.01 m.); found on surface at 100 ft. O.D., Chapel Pill Farm.

No. 9. Ovate, finely flaked all over one face, and only around edges of the other, on petaloid flake or slice of flint nodule, heavily patinated and stained light ochreous; cutting-edge all round, twist on both sides due to the artisan's taking advantage of contour presented by the margin of the piece; edges crushed and the flake-ridges smoothed down; material cracked, and flaked in one place leaving scar patinated to a lower shade than the body of the tool, testifying thereby to a break later than the manufacture of the implement; surface changes also suggesting contemporaneity of break and subordinate edge-scars resulting from shocks against other stones in transport; workmanship well-developed Acheulian; 2·9 in. (0·0735 m.) long, 2·1 in. (0·053 m.) wide, average thickness 0·5 in. (0·0125 m.); found on the surface at 100 ft. O.D., Chapel Pill Farm.

No. 10. Tool made on flint flake; an example of advanced Lower Palaeolithic (Acheulian) craftsmanship, comprising a fine point and long scraper edges; flatly flaked almost entirely upper convex surface, and edge-retouched from flatly flaked nether or separation surface of the two margins for more than half the length, thereby removing bulb of percussion; heavily patinated and light yellowish; a small patch of crust remaining; 2·45 in. (0·0625 m.) by 1·5 in. (0·038 m.) by 0·5 in. (0·0123 m.); found on surface at 100 ft. O.D., Chapel Pill Farm.

No. 11. Side-chopper bifacially flaked on one side to a cutting-edge, short and convex on the body at upper end and straight across the top; worked in an irregular, knobly, and corticated light grey flint nodule; one surface at lower end flat and providing suitable back for pressure. The tool, which admirably fits the grasp, is 3·95 in. (0·1 m.) long by 2·2 in. (0·056 m.) wide, and 1·55 in. (0·039 m.) thick. It was picked up by Mr. G. C. Boon on the surface at 100 ft. O.D., Chapel Pill Farm.

Fig. 5, no. 1. Flake, heavily patinated, light ochreous-stained chert; coarse, of Abbevillian or Clactonian aspect, pronounced and free-standing bulb of percussion accompanying inclined striking platform; upper surface showing two truncated flake-scars and the nether facets of probably accidental flaking; 2·85 in. (0·0725 m.) by 1·75 in. (0·044 m.) by 0·95 in. (0·024 m.); found on surface at 100 ft. O.D., Chapel Pill Farm.

No. 2. Flake, exhibiting Levalloisian technique, patinated chert struck from prepared core; edges worn by use as scraper; 1·9 in. (0·049 m.) by 1·55 in. (0·038 m.) by 0·4 in. (0·0085 m.); found on surface at 100 ft. O.D., Chapel Pill Farm.

No. 3. Flake, exhibiting Levalloisian technique, chert patinated light grey and speckled struck from prepared core; edges worn by use as scraper, finely faceted butt; 1·9 in. (0·049 m.) by 2 in. (0·0515 m.) by 0·5 in. (0·0125 m.); found on surface at 100 ft. O.D., Chapel Pill Farm.

No. 4. Scraper, Acheulio-Levalloisian type; flint, patinated and stained ochreous; made on flake struck from well-prepared core; retouched at top to sort of horseshoe outline, but much worn and injured, as also other margins; butt finely faceted and slightly trimmed; some flake-scars later than working and due doubtless to accidents; 1·5 in. (0·0375 m.) by 1·5 in. (0·0375 m.) by 0·55 in. (0·014 m.); found at 100 ft. O.D. about 14 in. down in head, Chapel Pill Farm.

No. 5. Thick parallel-sided blade; of flint heavily patinated, dull beige-grey; struck from well-prepared core; butt faceted, but scars more lightly altered than the body of the specimen; edges much worn by use, apparently also injured and blunted in the course of carriage in deposit; faintly striated on bulbar surface, and deeply scarred on upper part of right flank; 2·5 in. (0·064 m.) by 1·15 in. (0·029 m.) by 0·45 in. (0·0115 m.); found on surface at 100 ft. O.D., Chapel Pill Farm.

No. 6. Flake, flint, heavily patinated, dull beige-grey; struck from well-prepared core; bulb struck away from bulbar end; much worn edges show signs of having been retouched; the

two faces striated, particularly the bulbar one; 2·45 in. (0·0625 m.) by 1·6 in. (0·029 m.) by 0·35 in. (0·009 m.); found on surface at 100 ft. O.D., Chapel Pill Farm.

No. 7. Leaf-shaped implement, consisting of an edge-used blade struck from a well-prepared core; flint, heavily patinated and light beige-stained; two truncations of flake facets on butt, one on either side of bulb of percussion; very faint striae visible near bulb; 1·75 in. (0·047 m.) by 1·1 in. (0·028 m.) by 0·3 in. (0·008 m.); found on surface at 100 ft. O.D., Chapel Pill Farm.

No. 8. Core of Levalloisian type, flaked on one surface and on one part of periphery in discoidal corticated chert pebble; scars patinated, ridges stained ferruginous in places; largest piece removed flake-like, all other flakes merely waste from preparation; striking-platform plain and vertical; 3 in. (0·076 m.) by 2·6 in. (0·066 m.) by 0·8 in. (0·02 m.); found on surface at 100 ft. O.D., Chapel Pill Farm.

No. 9. Core of Levalloisian type in corticated chert pebble, patinated and yellowish of hue; flaked all over obverse, very slightly on reverse and all round periphery; one large flake removed from centre, its scar flaked by truncated facets of preparative working; striking-platform exhibiting considerable signs of preparation; 2·5 in. (0·0635 m.) by 2·45 in. (0·0625 m.) by 0·8 in. (0·02 m.); found on surface at 100 ft. O.D., Chapel Pill Farm.

No. 10. Hand-axe, sub-triangular; made by the fine flaking down of a discarded core of Levalloisian type; heavily patinated a dirty yellowish-cream, stained yellowish with rust-like patches; 2·6 in. (0·066 m.) by 2·4 in. (0·061 m.) by 0·7 in. (0·0175 m.); found on surface at 100 ft. O.D., Chapel Pill Farm.

No. 11. Tool, combining a sort of pick and double side-scraper; rudimentarily flaked along the two sides or both faces in piece of tabular flint; heavily patinated and deep ochreous in hue, the flake-scars of workmanship lighter than the surfaces left untreated; exhibiting some original and doubtless natural scarring; 3·5 in. (0·089 m.) by 1·9 in. (0·048 m.) by 0·8 in. (0·02 m.); found on surface at 100 ft. O.D., Chapel Pill Farm.

No. 12. Compound tool, consisting of a thick flint flake worked to a pick-like end and steeply and finely flaked down sides to a scraper-edge; butt finely faceted from bulbar face; all margins injured; heavily patinated, light yellowish hue; workmanship apparently Acheulian; 2·6 in. (0·066 m.) by 1·15 in. (0·029 m.) by 0·8 in. (0·02 m.); found on surface at 100 ft. O.D., Chapel Pill Farm.

No. 13. Compound tool, consisting of a thick flint flake with a dark brown inclusion; heavily patinated, yellowish-cream, slightly glazed; worked to flattish narrow tip and lateral cutting-edges, one being twisted in conformity with contour of flake; finely flaked on surface in the manner of a well-developed Acheulian hand-axe; lower end treated on bulbar face; edges injured from use; 1·2 in. (0·03 m.) across bulb, 2·8 in. (0·071 m.) long, 0·6 in. (0·015 m.) thick; found on surface at 100 ft. O.D., Chapel Pill Farm.

THE EXCAVATION OF A ROMAN BARROW AT RISEHOLME, NEAR LINCOLN

By F. H. THOMPSON

THE parish of Riseholme lies immediately north of the Lincoln city boundary and on the east side of Ermine Street as it runs along the top of the Jurassic ridge towards the Humber. It is an area of fertile, easily worked land lying between 130 and 200 ft. above sea-level, and must have presented a sharp contrast, in prehistoric eyes, to the areas of difficult settlement on the low-lying clays to east and west. The latter no doubt came under the plough in Roman times and indeed probably formed the bulk of the *territorium* attached to the *colonia* at Lincoln¹ after its foundation at the end of the first century;² but the higher ground, with few or no trees to clear, must still have seemed desirable land to the discharged legionary.

The barrow, the excavation of which is described in this report, stands near the northern boundary of the parish (fig. 1), some two and a half miles north of the Newport Arch and nearly half a mile to the east of Ermine Street (National Grid Reference 104/982763). It lies a little above the 150-ft. contour, overlooking a small valley to the west; on the other side of the stream which lies at the bottom the ground rises gradually to Ermine Street, which can be seen from the barrow. To the east the ground is level for perhaps half a mile, until it begins to fall gently away from the ridge into the flat lands of the Langworth valley. The barrow itself is a prominent feature of the landscape and, although it bears the growth of some half a dozen mature trees, is relatively unmutilated (pl. iv a). It stands to a maximum height of just over 9 ft. and in profile has the steep sides and flat top elsewhere regarded as characteristic of barrows of the Roman period³ (fig. 2, sections AB, CD). In plan (fig. 2) it is oval, but probably only so because numerous rabbit-holes and failure to plough right up to the southern edge have distorted its original outline. When first erected it was no doubt circular, as indicated by the inner broken line on the plan (see also section CD), with a diameter of almost 60 ft.

The first evidence as to the barrow's age came in the spring of 1935. The field in which it lies formed at that date part of the estate of the late Major C. Wilson of Riseholme Hall. A paragraph in the issue of the *Lincolnshire Echo* dated 5th March 1935 relates how an employee, the late Mr. Tom Morrison, was digging out a ferret from the side of the mound when, a few inches below the surface, his spade struck a stone slab. This proved to be the cover of a cinerary urn of Romano-British date containing a substantial quantity of cremated human bones (pl. iv b). The discovery was communicated to Mr. F. T. Baker, F.S.A., of the City and County Museum, Lincoln, who visited the site and, apart from making a record of the find, noted the presence in the newly ploughed field of Roman pottery and tiles and also of a trackway, about 30 ft. wide, running west towards Ermine Street from the adjoining field (fig. 1). The writer is indebted to Mr. Baker for the infor-

¹ *Arch. Journ.* ciii, 66.

² *Ibid.* 29.

³ *Antiquity*, i (1927), 431, and x (1936), 38.

mation that the burial came from the approximate position indicated on the plan, in the barrow's south-west quadrant.¹ Subsequently Major Wilson presented the urn to the City and County Museum, where it forms a part of the Romano-British collection.²

This burial was clearly in a secondary position, pointing to the fact that any

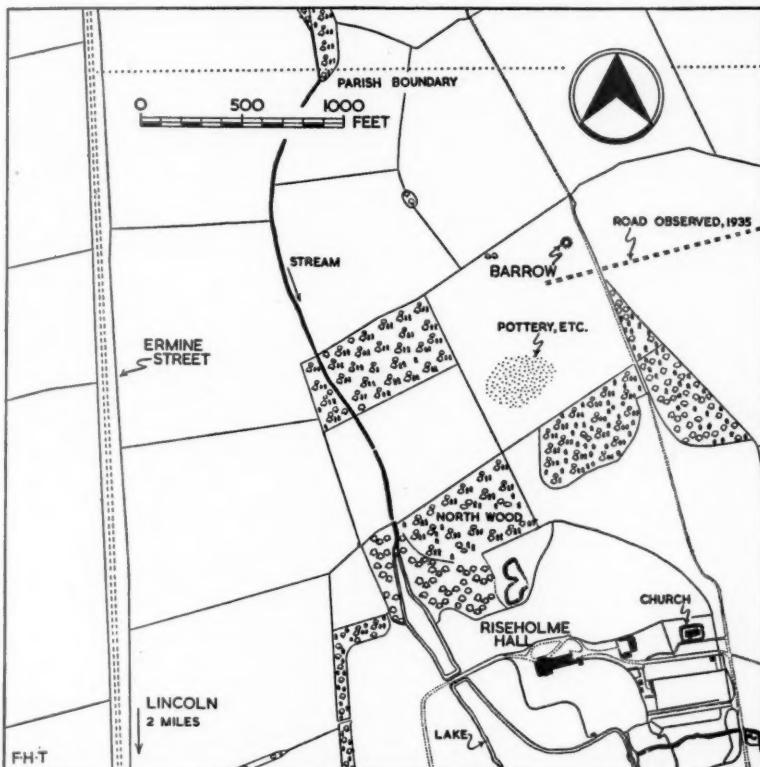


FIG. 1. Riseholme, showing position of Roman barrow

primary burial was either also of the Roman period or earlier. The profile of the barrow, as remarked above, suggested the former solution, but, to remove doubt, an excavation was undertaken in the summer of 1952. Permission for this was given by the Education Committee of Lindsey County Council, the governing body of the Riseholme Farm Institute which now farms the land; to them and to Mr. P. S. Marsden, M.C., M.A., Principal of the Institute, the writer wishes to express his sincere thanks. The major part of the excavation was carried out by the writer; much appreciated help was, however, given in the closing stages by Messrs. M. I.

¹ Cf. L. V. Grinsell, *The Ancient Burial Mounds of England* (1936), p. 38, where it is remarked that secondary burials were frequently placed in this position.

² Museum no. 1.35.

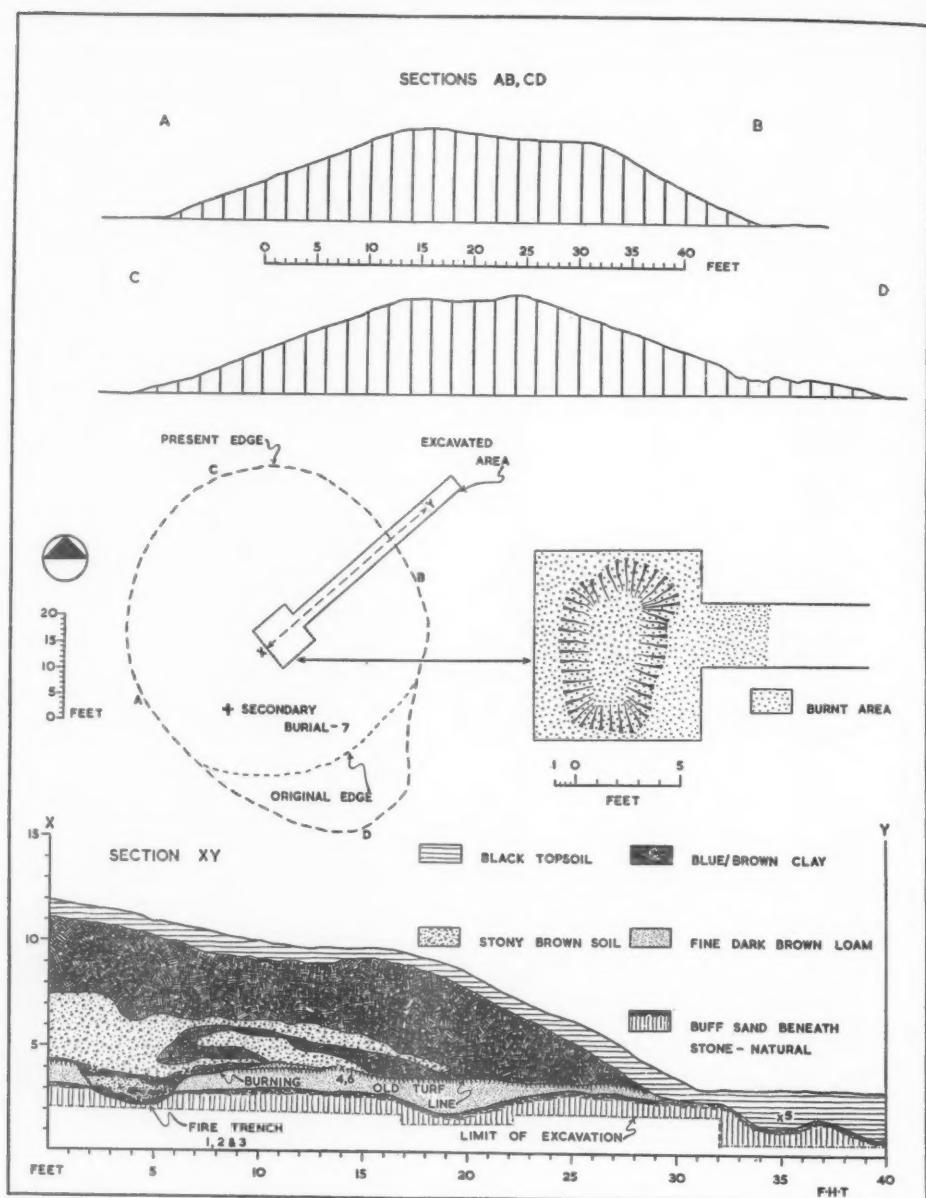


FIG. 2. Roman barrow at Riseholme, near Lincoln
By courtesy of the *Journal of Roman Studies*

Needham and I. McPherson, and an especial debt of gratitude is due to the writer's wife for assistance with the original surveying and the final drawing of the section. Professor A. J. E. Cave of St. Bartholomew's Hospital Medical College and Miss Judith E. King of the British Museum (Natural History) kindly consented to examine and report on the human and animal bones respectively.

The presence of trees and the size of the barrow precluded any attempt at a total excavation by the quadrant method with the resources available. Instead a trench 3 ft. wide was cut on a compass bearing of 60 degrees from the edge of the barrow towards the assumed centre, where a further trench, originally 8 ft. square but later enlarged to 9 ft. by 8 ft., was excavated (fig. 2, plan). It was felt that this was the most suitable method, in default of total excavation, both of attaining the primary burial and of learning something of the barrow's structural history. The cuttings were taken down to natural and, finally, the 3-ft. trench was extended eastwards beyond the edge for a distance of 16 ft., in an effort to determine whether the barrow had originally been encircled by a ditch.

In the event, the structure of the barrow proved to be relatively simple (fig. 2, section XY). Beneath a layer of black topsoil it consisted for the most part of a mass of stiff clay varying in colour from light brown to greenish-blue and possessed of a strong characteristic smell. Mingled with it were occasional fragments of weathered grey limestone and several lumps of 'nailhead' calcite of the average size of a clenched fist; finds from the clay itself were negligible, but one or two indeterminate medieval or post-medieval potsherds were recovered from the topsoil. The toughness of this clay composing the body of the mound explains why its profile had suffered comparatively little change as a result of weathering or other causes. The core of the barrow consisted of a mass of stony brown soil from which thin layers ran outwards, presumably representing original tipping-lines. Beneath this clay and soil was a layer of fine dark brown soil, the surface of which contained numerous decayed white rootlets, marking an old turf-line. On this were found two sherds of Romano-British pottery (fig. 3, 4 and 6) which must have pre-dated the erection of the barrow. Beneath this layer came natural, a coarse buff sand the surface of which was defined by a thin layer of broken tabular limestone. This surface was not uniformly level and at one point showed a marked dip. There was no deposit of clay evident and the material for the building of the barrow must have been brought some little distance—local information was that there were deposits in the woods to the south.

Commencing at a distance of 7 ft. from the centre of the barrow, evidence of burning appeared on the old ground surface in the shape of reddening and blackening of the soil and a thin layer of ash. This continued inward and extended into and across a small trench which had been excavated at the centre through the old ground surface and into natural to a depth of 20 in. This was subrectangular in shape and measured approximately 8 ft. long and 5 ft. wide with its long axis on a line running approximately north-west and south-east (fig. 2, enlarged plan of central area). The filling of this trench consisted of stony soil interlarded with lumps of clay, the whole being topped by a layer of clay which extended a few feet outward from the trench towards the eastern edge of the barrow. The finds from this filling were

very fragmentary, but sufficient to throw light on the character and date of the primary burial. This had clearly been a cremation from the evidence of a quantity of fragmented burnt human bone, with which were included two unburnt bones of a sheep or goat (see separate reports at end). Taken in conjunction with the evidence of intense heat and scorching in the trench and on the old ground surface, the burnt bone indicates that the actual rite of cremation took place here before the erection of the barrow. Presumably the pyre on which the body of the deceased had been placed had been erected over the trench, which had provided sufficient draught for the fire effectively to consume the corpse. As the cremation proceeded there would be a tendency for the embers to spread outwards, or conceivably the pyre might have collapsed, so accounting for the extent of the burnt layer. Alternatively the fire might have been raked out at the end, but the lack of any burnt bone beyond the confines of the fire-trench argues against this possibility.

Also in the filling were found a few decayed scraps of bronze, two of which could in conjunction be interpreted as half of a finger-ring; some fragments of glass, mostly fused into lumps by heat, but one surviving sufficiently to be identified as the rim and part of the neck of a Roman *unguentarium* (fig. 3, 1); and finally, sherds of pottery, some from a lamp, an Italian or Gaulish product, and the others from a Romano-British grey ware beaker with coarsely rouletted body (fig. 3, 2 and 3), together with one or two indeterminate sherds from other vessels. No complete pot was found, presumably because the remaining sherds lay outside the area excavated.

These other finds help to complete to some extent the picture of the ceremony. The dead person's trinkets remained with the body and on the pyre were probably placed pottery vessels containing food and drink and toilet preparations in glass containers, everything necessary in fact to ease the rigours of the journey to the underworld. The lamp may have served to put a light to the pyre and then been placed, still burning, by the body to light it on its shadowed way. Once the cremation was complete, all the remains seem to have been heaped into the fire-trench, which was filled with clay and soil and sealed with clay, after which the barrow was erected above it, subsequently to receive a further cremation, this time inurned. Little can be said as to the identity of the individuals concerned except that the secondary burial was possibly that of an adult male; presumably both were inhabitants of some building near by, the site of which may be marked by the pottery and tiles appearing in the same field.

The extension of the 3-ft. trench eastwards beyond the edge of the barrow provided no strong evidence for thinking that the latter ever possessed a ditch. It is true that the surface of natural showed a slight hollow in section (fig. 2, section XY), but this contained a homogeneous filling of topsoil showing no signs of silting at the bottom. Furthermore, an even deeper hollow appeared in section a little farther east, and on the whole these are best interpreted as natural depressions. A few sherds of pottery were found in this extension, among them a late-third- or fourth-century rim (fig. 3, 5), attesting activity at a later stage in this area.

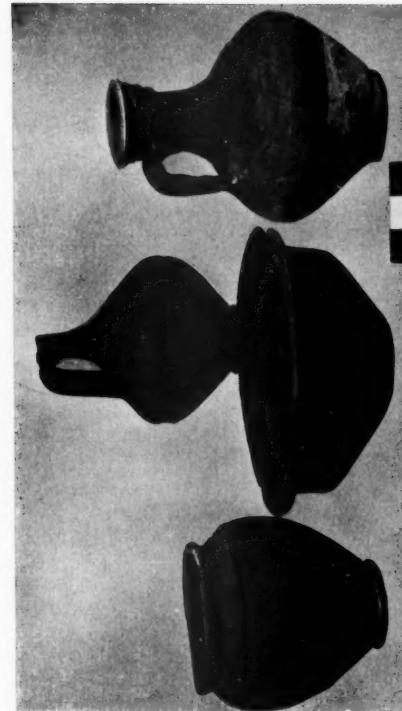
Two problems present themselves in connexion with the dating of the barrow: the dating of the primary burial on the one hand and of the secondary on the other;



a. Roman barrow at Riseholme, near Lincoln



b. Urn containing secondary cremation found in 1935 and now in Lincoln Museum



c. Grave-group from West Parade, Lincoln, found in 1884

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any perceptible difference between the two would equate with the length of time the barrow remained in use (with the reservation that other secondaries in the unexcavated part of the barrow might extend this to a later date). The evidence for the dating of the primary is, firstly, the pottery from the old ground surface, mentioned earlier, which may pre-date or be contemporary with the barrow: of most value is the rim-fragment of the Samian Form Ritterling 12 (fig. 3, 4) of first-century date; secondly, the pottery from the primary itself: here the most valuable evidence is provided by the sherds of the rouletted beaker (fig. 3, 3). This decoration was especially common at Colchester in Flavian times on globular beakers with everted rim, in form more akin to fig. 3, 9 (from a late-first-century grave-group in West Parade, Lincoln). The example from the primary has a wider mouth and less definite rim (if in fact the rim can be associated with the other sherds), perhaps symptomatic of a slightly later stage of development. At all events, it, too, can be safely assigned to the late first century, say A.D. 80-100. The lamp (fig. 3, 2) unfortunately lacks its nozzle, but agrees well enough in other respects with this date.

Sadly, the urn containing the secondary burial (fig. 3, 7) presents no definite features to which a precise date can be attached. In general, the everted rim and high shoulder with horizontal groove argue an early date, probably in the first century. A reasonably close parallel comes from a grave-group found in Newport, Lincoln (fig. 3, 8), dated late first century. It could well be that little time need have elapsed between primary and secondary burials and the period A.D. 80-100 may be postulated, with reservations, as the maximum 'life' of the barrow.

The grave-group from West Parade, Lincoln, already quoted as providing a parallel to the rouletted beaker from the primary burial, deserves further notice, in that it may probably have come from a second barrow in the area. The group as a whole consists of the beaker already mentioned, a carinated bowl containing cremated bones, and two screw-neck flagons (pl. iv c), and forms part of the Romano-British collection in the museum at Lincoln;¹ Professor I. A. Richmond elsewhere assigns it to the late first century.² Although discovered in 1884, it was not acquired for the museum until 1912, having been exhibited previously in the O'Neill Collection at the Royal College of Physicians. These details appear in the columns of the *Lincoln Leader and County Advertiser* in its issue dated 14th September 1912, together with the following suggestive statement: 'This group was found in a hillock which was levelled for building purposes in West Parade, 1884.' The mention of a 'hillock', coupled with the likelihood that West Parade lies on the line of the road leading west from the lower Roman enclosure at Lincoln,³ a natural position for a barrow,⁴ is strong presumptive evidence for concluding that a second barrow of approximately the same date as that at Riseholme existed at this point.

The significance of the proved barrow at Riseholme and the possible at Lincoln can be assessed by comparison with the conclusions reached by Messrs. G. C. Dunning, F.S.A., and R. F. Jessup, F.S.A., in their definitive study of Roman

¹ Museum nos. 271-4.12.

² *Arch. Journ.* ciii, 53.

³ *Ibid.*, Part II, fig. 5.

⁴ *Antiquity*, x (1936), 38.

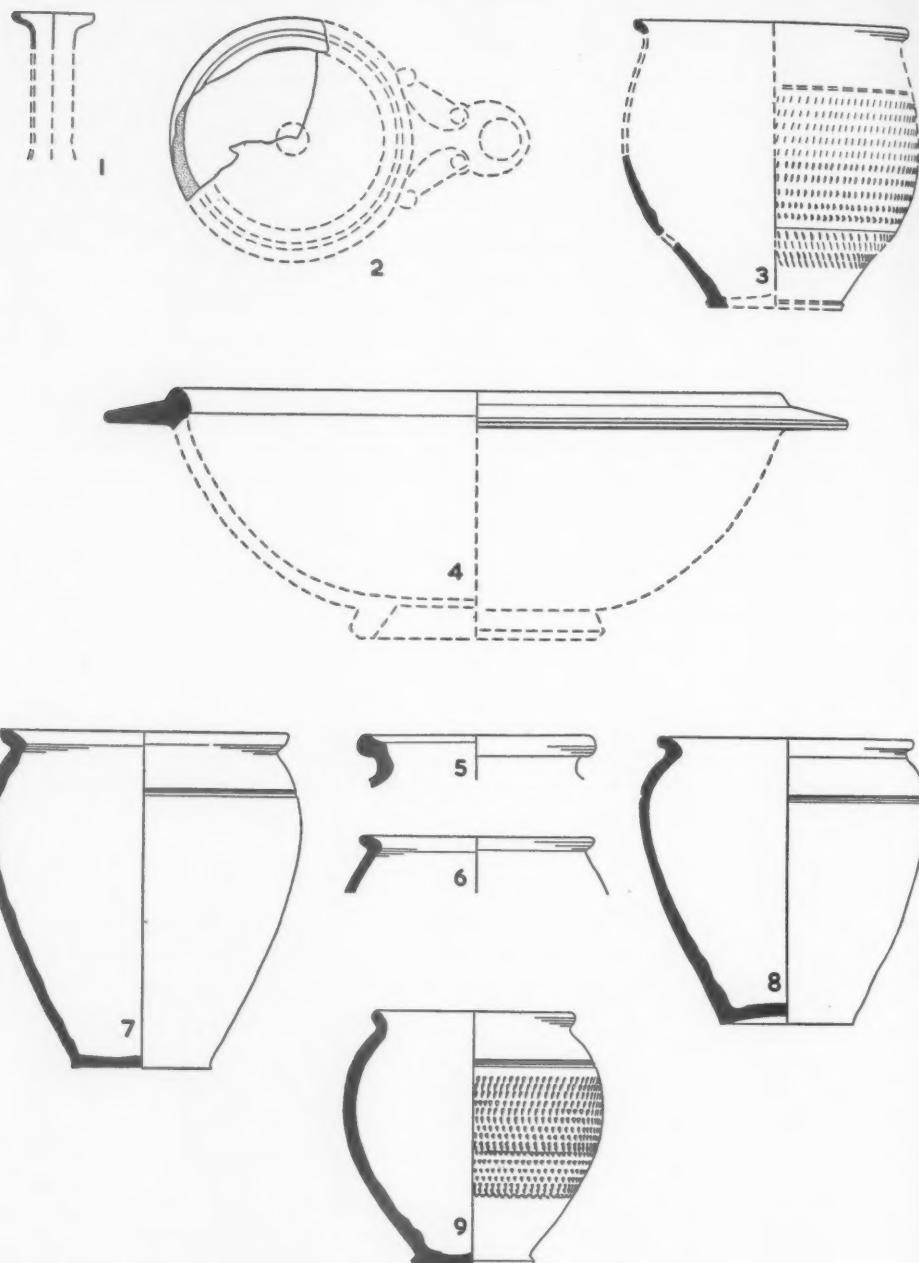


FIG. 3. 1-7. Glass and pottery from the Roman barrow at Riseholme.
 8. Cinerary urn from grave-group on site of the Drill Hall, Newport, Lincoln, 1938.
 9. Beaker from grave-group from West Parade, Lincoln, 1884.
 (1, 2, 4, ½: 3, 5-9, ½)

barrows in *Antiquity* for March 1936, to which reference has already been made. A study of the distribution map which they give demonstrates that these two new examples lie farthest north of the British group with the exception of an unproven specimen at Hovingham in Yorkshire. They are to that extent marginal, and the unremarkable nature of the grave-goods confirms this deduction. However, it is interesting that they are among the earliest of the type, which argues against a gradual outward spread in space and time from the main area in the south-east. Their presence merely attests the thorough romanization of Britain as far north as the Humber by the end of the first century.

The other noteworthy fact is the presence of a secondary burial contemporary with the primary in the Riseholme barrow. Dunning and Jessup cite cases of post-Roman interments in Roman barrows, and complementary instances of Roman burials in pre-Roman barrows are also known;¹ but Roman primary and secondary together are, to the writer's knowledge, unique. The presence of a secondary in a conventional prehistoric position might perhaps be held to argue more strongly in favour of Roman barrow-building as the continuation of a pre-Roman and native practice than Dunning and Jessup would allow in their explanation of the origin of the phenomenon, though there is still a chronological gap to be filled.

DESCRIPTION OF FINDS

GLASS

Fig. 3, 1. Rim and part of neck of glass phial or *unguentarium* in clear pale green metal. Fire-trench filling.

POTTERY

Fire-trench filling

2. Fragment of clay lamp in thin buff ware with orange-brown slip. This Gaulish or Italian import (the writer is indebted to Dr. D. B. Harden for this verdict) has been restored in the drawing as type II of the London Museum Catalogue no. 3, *London in Roman Times* (p. 62 and fig. 15).
3. Sherds of a globular beaker in smooth light grey ware with polished dark grey outer surface. Small everted rim, coarsely rouletted zone on body, and angular moulding at base. For the style of decoration and form of vessel, cf. Hawkes and Hull, *Camulodunum*, Form 108 (pl. LVI) and p. 237, and for local parallels, cf. 9 from grave-group in West Parade, Lincoln, and *J.R.S.* xxxix, fig. 12, 41. Late first century.

Old ground surface beneath barrow

4. Rim sherd of Samian flanged bowl, Form Ritterling 12. Cf. *Oswald and Pryce*, pl. LXXI, 1-7, and pp. 210, 211, where it is not held to have survived the end of the first century.
6. Sharply everted rim of globular jar in brown ware with black core and slightly polished black surface and backing of crushed white shell. Associated with 4.

¹ C. Fox, *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* (Cambridge, 1923), p. 197.

Extension of trench beyond perimeter of barrow

5. Jar rim, recessed internally for lid, in gritty buff ware with black core and surface. Cf. *Antiq. Journ.* xxvii, fig. 5, type H 15 (G. Webster and N. Booth, *The Excavation of a Romano-British Pottery Kiln at Swanpool, Lincoln*), dated A.D. 280-350.

Secondary burial in south-west quadrant of barrow

7, and pl. iv b. Pear-shaped urn in hard gritty dark grey ware fired to orange and brown tones on surface with everted rim and shallow girth-groove. It contains 35 oz. of cremated human bones and is covered by a roughly rectangular limestone slab, measuring 10 x 7 x 1 in. Cf. with 8 from grave-group in Newport, Lincoln, and with London Museum Catalogue no. 3, pl. XIII A, 4, dated second half of first century.

Grave-group from site of Drill Hall, Newport, Lincoln, 1938

8. Cinerary urn in gritty black ware with light brown surface. Short everted rim, shallow girth-groove, and kick in base. Now in City and County Museum, Lincoln (Museum no. 20.38), with remainder of group, buff screw-neck flagon (19.38) and buff urn (21.38), all late first century.

Grave-group from West Parade, Lincoln, 1884

9, and pl. iv c. Beaker in smooth light grey ware. Everted rim, two horizontal girth-grooves, zone of coarse rouletting, angular moulding at base. For remainder of group see above. Late first century.

HUMAN REMAINS

Professor Cave reports as follows:

(a) Primary burial, excavated 1952, from fire-trench filling

Remains under this category include:

(1) A small number of cremated and fragmented bones, mostly the shafts of long bones, and all presumably human. At least three skull fragments are present. All the pieces seem to derive from one and the same individual, whose age and sex are not determinable on the osteological evidence.

(2) A non-human tibia and rib-fragment (? species). Neither has been subjected to cremation but simply buried.

(b) Cremated remains from secondary urn-burial, excavated 1936

The remains represent part of an adult human skeleton, which has been thoroughly burnt and afterwards deliberately comminuted, bone by bone, so that no single skeletal element now survives intact. The fragments present all display the customary fracturing, fissuration, and warping resulting from subjection to fire-heat.

The recognizable fragments include numerous vertebral bodies, pieces of the sacrum, the articular ends of the major long bones of the limbs, pieces of pelvis, a patella, the calcanei, the tali, and the like. The comminuted shafts of the larger long bones are also readily recognizable and constitute a considerable portion of the remains. Skull fragments are curiously few—no more than half a dozen small-sized pieces of cranium being detectable: most of the skull is therefore wanting.

There is no anatomical evidence of immaturity in these remains: indeed the size and proportions of the larger recognizable fragments suggest very strongly that the skeleton derives from an adult male individual. There is (naturally) no evidence of osseous disease present and no evidence of admixture with the bones of any other skeleton, human or animal.'

ANIMAL REMAINS

The two non-human bones referred to by Professor Cave in section (a) (2) of his report were submitted to Miss Judith E. King of the Osteological Section, British Museum (Natural History), who reports as follows:

'The bones from Riseholme that you sent for identification are from a sheep or goat. The tibia is from the right side, and the rib fragment is too small for specific identification although it probably also comes from a sheep or goat.'

A CAROLINGIAN ROCK CRYSTAL FROM THE ABBEY OF SAINT-DENIS AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM

By COMTE BLAISE DE MONTESQUIOU-FEZENSAC, Hon. F.S.A.

THE engravings devoted to the *Trésor* in Dom Félibien's history of the abbey of Saint-Denis,¹ in spite of their inaccuracy, are a precious source of information about the pieces, some extremely ancient, that composed that celebrated ensemble, unfortunately dispersed at the Revolution. On the plate by Nicolas Guérard, dealing with the third *armoire*, is pictured a reliquary consisting of two oval rock crystals, placed one above the other, in a rich gold setting (Fig. 1). The crystal situated beneath, which is the larger one, is engraved with a representation of Christ on the Cross between the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist.² We learn from Dom Félibien that in his time—his book was printed in 1706—this reliquary enclosed some remnants of the clothes of St. Louis, king of France.

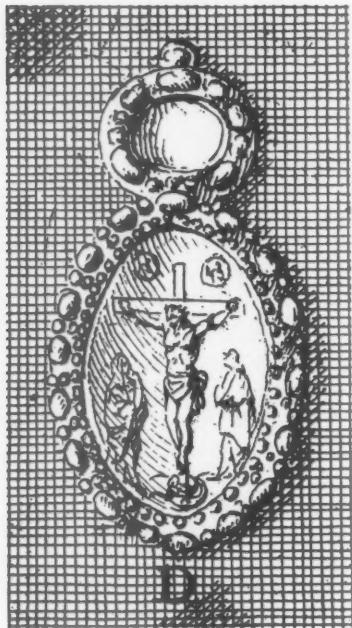


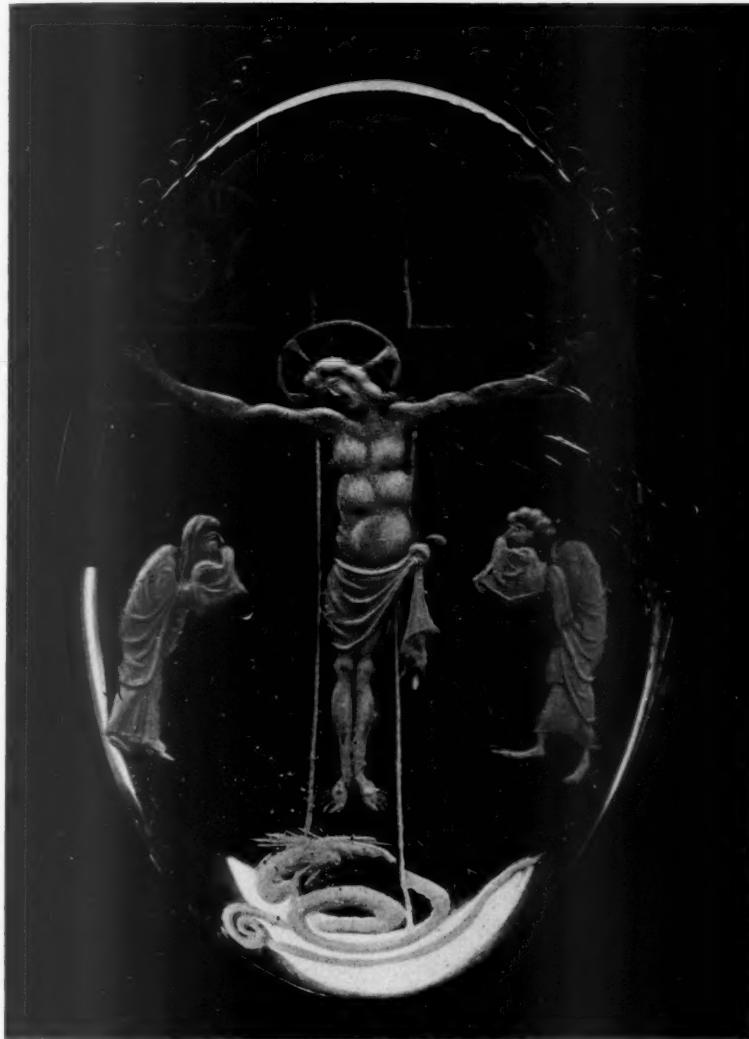
FIG. 1. From Félibien, *Histoire de Saint-Denis*, contents of Armoire III

occur in many ivory carvings and miniatures of the ninth and tenth centuries, and

¹ Dom Michel Félibien, *Histoire de l'Abbaye Royale de Saint-Denis en France*, Paris, 1706, pp. 536 et seq. These engravings are reproduced in the remarkable work of Sir W. Martin Conway,

"The Abbey of Saint-Denis and its Ancient Treasures" (*Archæologia*, vol. lxvi, pls. III and IV).

² Dom Félibien, *loc. cit.*, p. 540, pl. III D.



A Carolingian rock crystal from the Abbey of Saint-Denis at the British Museum

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their presence here make it obvious that we have to do with one of those Carolingian or post-Carolingian intaglios of which several examples have survived, this one being at all events of a quite unusual size.

Let us see first what we can draw from ancient documents about the past of this rock crystal, for it is evident that its utilization as a reliquary for a portion of St. Louis's clothes was not its original destination. Then we shall see what happened to it when the treasures of the abbey of Saint-Denis were dispersed and for the greater part destroyed under the French Revolution.

Jules Labarte and Lord Conway have shown that the inventory of 1634, the chief authority for the study of the *Trésor*, 'incorporates in full the complete inventory' of 1505, from which the text printed by H. Omont is only an 'abstract'.¹ In this inventory of 1634 the rock crystal we are studying is twice described. It is inventoried a first time in the part of this document that includes the objects already present in 1505. We can easily recognize it among the ornaments adorning the *tombeau des Corps Saints*, the shrine of the three patron saints, Denis, Rustique, and Éleuthère:

—a gold picture 'en fonds de cuve', decorated in its centre with a large crystal engraved with a crucifix, the Virgin and Saint John; and above the said crystal another small crystal fastened to the said picture; the two said crystals adorned with nine plasmas, three German amethysts, two chalcedonies, a loupe of sapphire, a crystal and four blue pastes, thirty-two half-pears, a piece of mother of pearl and three settings empty of their pearls. . . .²

It must be remembered here that the relics of the three Parisian martyrs, which had been kept for many centuries in the Confession under the principal altar of the basilica, were transferred by Abbot Suger, on the 11th of June 1144 to a new funerary monument erected by him in the *chevet* of the *église haute*. Notes taken by Nicolas Claude Fabry de Peiresc, the learned antiquary of Aix-en-Provence, who visited Saint-Denis in the first quarter of the seventeenth century,³ and the description given by the *inventaire* itself, make it certain that Suger, in the decoration of this new shrine, had re-used numerous elements coming from the antique *lecticae* of the saints, Roman gems, remnants of *verroterie cloisonnée* (garnets or pastes fitted into gold cells), and other such ornaments. Among these readmitted elements was the Carolingian rock crystal.

The tomb erected by Abbot Suger, which had survived throughout the middle ages, was severely damaged in the course of the sixteenth century during the

¹ Jules Labarte, *Histoire des Arts industriels*, Paris, 1864-66; Sir W. Martin Conway, *loc. cit.*, p. 103; Henri Omont, 'Inventaires du Trésor de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis de 1505 et 1739' (*Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Île de France*, t. xxviii, 1901).

² 'Ung tableau d'or en fonds de cuve, garny au milieu d'un grand cristal, gravé au dedans ung crucifix, Nostre-Dame et Saint Jean, et au dessus dudit cristal ung autre petit cristal attaché audict tableau;

garnis lesdits deux cristaux de neuf presmes d'esmeraudes, trois amatistes d'allemaigne, deux cassiodines, une loupe de saphir, ung cristal et quatre verres bleus, trente-deux demies perles et une nacle et trois chattons vides de leurs perles . . .' (Bibl. Nationale, ms. fr. 18765, fol. 281v.)

³ These notes of Peiresc have been published, in part, by Léon Levillain, 'L'Autel des Saints Martyrs de la Basilique de Saint-Denis' (*Bulletin Monumental*, 1911, pp. 212-25).

insecure period of the Wars of Religion. When peace returned, the monks considered that it was in an unrepairable condition. The public taste had receded from medieval art. The venerable shrine was pulled to pieces and replaced by a monument in the classical style of the time (*c.* 1627) made by the sculptor Thomas Boudin.¹ The introduction into the abbey only a few years later of the reform of the Congrégation de Saint Maur would have most likely saved it.² Several gems coming from the ancient shrine, among which was the rock crystal, were deposited in the cupboards of the *Salle du Trésor*.

In the second description of our rock crystal given by the *Inventaire* of 1634 it is mentioned as a self-existent piece of work among objects having joined the *Trésor* between 1534 and 1634.³ Its first origin seems completely forgotten, and there is no reference to its transformation into a reliquary of the clothes of St. Louis, a transformation which must have taken place some years later.

A picture in a large rock crystal, made in an oval, six *pouces* and a half long, in which is engraved a crucifix, a Virgin and a Saint John, set in gold, above the which there is another crystal, of medium size, also set in gold; around the which (crystals) are nine plasmas, two crystals, and an agate . . . an amethyst, twenty-eight pearls, an empty setting for a stone and seven empty settings for pastes . . .⁴

In spite of some discrepancy in the enumeration of the stones of the frame, which the troubled history of Saint-Denis during the second half of the sixteenth century accounts for, it is obvious that the two descriptions of the *inventaire* refer to one and the same object; we find in both the essential features, two oval rock crystals, one placed above the other, the larger one being engraved with a Christ on the Cross between the Virgin and St. John.

The exceptional interest of this rock crystal did not escape Peiresc at the time of his visit to Saint-Denis, and he has given a description of it that is a wonder of precision:

The crucifix engraved in a large oval rock crystal of the size of the hand, set in gold and precious stones, a piece of work seven or eight hundred years old; he [Christ] is naked, with only a small piece of linen in front; he has four nails. The Cross is quite simple, but slightly 'pattée', and surrounded at the foot by a serpent coiled in two or three rings, having a bearded head and a crest to represent a basilisk, but without wings or claws. The Virgin and Saint John are on one side and the other, not standing erect, but bending their head down towards their hands and holding up the extremity of their veil or pallium to their face, as if they were

¹ Dom Félibien, *loc. cit.*, pp. 447-8; cf. Gaston Brière et Paul Vitry, *L'Église abbatiale de Saint-Denis et ses tombeaux*, Paris, 1908, p. 12.

² Dom Félibien, *loc. cit.*, p. 448: 'Quoique l'autel (nouveau) soit presque tout de marbre et bien exécuté, il faut avouer que la vue d'un mausolée distingué de l'autel, comme il était auparavant, avait quelque chose de bien plus vénérable.' Such seems to have been the feeling of the monks of the Congrégation de Saint-Maur.

³ The *Trésor* had been inventoried again in 1534.

⁴ 'Ung tableau, d'un grand cristal de roche, fait en ovale, de six pouces et demy de long, dans lequel est gravé ung crucifix, une Vierge et ung saint Jean, enchassé en or, sur lequel y a ung autre cristal de moyenne grandeur, aussy enchassé en or, allentour desquelz sont neuf presmes d'esmeraudes . . . deux cristaux et une agathe . . . une amatiste, vingt-huit perles, ung chatton à pierre vuide et sept chattons à verres vuides . . .' (Bibl. Nationale, ms. fr. 18765, fol. 398r.)

crying; the Virgin veiled in the Syrian fashion. Above the Cross, on both sides of the crossbar, are two roundels; one is engraved with the sun; not in our modern, but in the antique and pagan fashion, like the 'Sol Comes' of Constantine, from the belt upwards, the head surrounded with rays and, in his hand, a whip with three lashes (that some would take for a torch), the chlamys on the shoulder and some semblance of garment on the body (as Apollo Daphneus), if it were not that the work is very coarse and difficult to make out distinctly. The other roundel is engraved with the half-length figure of the moon, bearing a veil, and with her horns on her head, holding in the same manner a whip with three lashes that some would also take for a torch, but there is no appearance thereof, for the flames would go down instead of soaring up, according to their nature; and I have never heard that the Ancients gave one [a torch] to the sun, who emits his flames through the rays of his head, a whip being always given to him to urge his four steeds, as it is [given] to Diana, to hasten the two that are hers.¹

In this exemplary description not an item is left aside, and we find Peiresc already suggesting what the early medieval art received in heritage from the pagan world at its decline.

The rock-crystal intaglio, in its jewelled frame, remained exhibited in the third *armoire* of the *Trésor* during the greater part of the eighteenth century. Carried away from Saint-Denis, with the rest of the treasure, during the night of the 21st to the 22nd of the month of Brumaire 'an II' (11-12 Nov. 1793) in order to be presented to the Convention, it is mentioned in the *recolement*: 'a rock crystal in which is engraved a crucifix'.² It had the luck to be set apart by the Commission des Monuments as a piece interesting the fine arts and, deprived of its gold border,³

¹ 'Le crucifix gravé en un grand cristal de roche en ovale de la grandeur de la main, garny d'or et de pierreries, d'ouvrage de 7 à 800 ans. Il est nud (le Christ), avec un simple drapeau devant; il a 4 clouds; la croix est toute simple mais un peu pattée et, par le bas, entourée d'un serpent qui y est entortillé en deux ou trois tours, ayant la teste barbue et une creste pour faire un basilic, mais point d'aisles et point de griffes. La Vierge et St Jean sont déjà déla, non pas tous droicts, mais la teste penchante vers leurs mains et portants le pan de leur voile ou pallium vers le visage, comme pleurants; la Vierge voilée à la Syrienne. Par dessus la croix, déjà et déjà des deux croisillons, il y a deux ronds, en l'un desquels est gravé le soleil, mais non pas à nostre mode moderne, ains à l'antique payenne, comme le Sol Comes de Constantin, depuis la ceinture en hault, ayant la teste rayonnée, un foict à la main de trois cordettes (que d'autres vouloient prendre pour un flambeau), la clamys sur l'épaule et quelque aparance de veste par le corps (comme l'Apollon Daphneus), si ce n'est que l'ouvrage est fort grossier et difficile à bien distinguer. En l'autre rond est gravée la demy-figure de la lune voilée et avec ses cornes sur la teste, tenant pareillement un

foict de trois cordettes, qu'on vouloit aussi prendre pour un flambeau, mais il n'y a nulle apparence, d'autant que les flammes iroient en bas au lieu de monter en hault sellon leur nature. Et puis je ne saiche pas que les anciens en ayant jamais donné au soleil, qui darde ses flammes par les rayons de sa teste, le foict luy estant toujours donné pour chasser ses quatre chevaux, comme Dianne pour haster les siens deux.' (Bibl. Nationale, ms. fr. nouv. acq. 5174, fol. 34v.) This unpublished comment of Peiresc was indicated to me by M. Georges Huard, conservateur adjoint au département des imprimés de la Bibl. Nationale, to whom I am gratefully obliged.

² Paul Lacroix, 'Inventaires du Trésor de l'Abbaye de Saint-Denis' (*Revue Universelle des Arts*, t. IV, 1857, p. 127): 'un cristal de roche où est gravé un crucifix'.

³ The selection of the pieces set apart by the Commission des Monuments took place at the 'Garde-Meubles', the 27th of Brumaire an II: 'un cristal de roche gravé, monté en or et entouré de pierreries'. The border of gold and precious stones was sent to the *Monnaie*, to be melted: 'une bordure de cristal de roche en or, garnie de pierres'. Paul Lacroix, *loc. cit.*, pp. 134 and 138.

was entrusted to the Commissaires du Museum Central des Arts, the future Musée du Louvre. It is designated as follows in the *Liste des objets déposés au Museum*:

an egg-shaped rock crystal, engraved; engraved therein is a Christ and two women; 6 pouces high; 3 pouces 9 lignes wide.

The two women here indicated are the Holy Virgin and St. John. The Commissaires of the Museum Central were not too competent in iconography.¹

One might have hoped that the Saint-Denis intaglio, deposited in the Museum, would find there a lasting refuge. Unfortunately it was not to be so. The financial difficulties which had been one of the chief motives of destruction of works of art during the Convention were to cause new losses under the Directoire. In 1797 an urgent need of money inspired in the Ministre des Finances of the time the disastrous project of an auction staged at the cost of the Museum's collections. A selection was made among the things that had been set apart by the Commission des Monuments as *objets de curiosité* and deposited in the Museum Central in 1793, and the choice was fixed on those that in the eyes of the Commissaires were commendable neither by their shape nor by their workmanship. It included gold and silver gilt pieces coming from the ancient treasures of the Sainte-Chapelle and of Saint-Denis, noble at least in origin.

The sale took place on the 27th and 28th Messidor an VI (15–16th July 1797) in the Salle d'Anatomie of the Louvre. Though the auction was held, as it was stated by the auctioneer, at a time when transactions of that sort were wholly stagnant, it was a success. Hope had been given to the Commissaires that the Museum might have a part of the product of the transaction. It is needless to say that these prospects came to nothing. Among the objects that were sold was the Carolingian intaglio: 'a piece of rock crystal in the shape of a flattened egg, in which is engraved a Christ and two women.' Estimated at 3 francs, which was cheap, it was sold for 15 francs. Unfortunately the document of the Archives du Musée du Louvre which gives the results of the sale does not reveal the name of the purchaser.²

From this moment we lose trace of the rock crystal and might give up all hope of finding out what became of it if the engraving of Nicolas Guérard and, to a higher degree, the description of Peiresc had not given us the means to recognize it with certainty in a large rock-crystal intaglio of the British Museum (pl. v).

Information is lacking about the way this Carolingian crystal came to the Museum. It was already present in its collections before the creation of the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities (1866), and even before the adoption of the present mode of entering the objects (1837). Its provenance

¹ 'Liste des objets déposés au Museum Central des Arts, le 15 Frimaire an II' (*Archives du Musée du Louvre*, M. iv, no. 99): 'un cristal de roche en forme d'œuf, gravé; y est gravé un Christ et deux femmes; 6 pouces de haut, 3 pouces 9 lignes de large'.

² Joseph Guibert (*Les Dessins du Cabinet de Peiresc au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibl. Nationale*, Paris, 1910) gives some information about the

preparation of this sale and the sale itself: 'un morceau de cristal de roche en forme d'œuf aplati, sur lequel est gravé un Christ en Croix et deux femmes, estimé 3 frs.' (*Archives du Musée du Louvre*, M. 13, Minute de l'Etat des objets existants au Musée central des Arts, proposés par l'administration pour être, conformément à l'intention du Ministre des Finances, vendus au profit de l'établissement.)

is unknown.¹ But it agrees in shape, size,² and composition with the Saint-Denis rock crystal so minutely described by Peiresc. There is not a word of this masterly description that does not fit to the letter the British Museum intaglio: the Virgin and St. John 'holding up the extremity of their veil or pallium to their face, as if they were crying'; the serpent with its 'bearded head' and its 'crest'; the half-length figures of Sun and Moon, in roundels, each of them holding a whip with three lashes. It can be assumed that this rock crystal of the British Museum is the very one that was seen throughout many centuries on the shrine of Saint-Denis and his two companions in martyrdom.³

Scholars have been severe in their judgement on the artistic value of this rock crystal, and Nicolas de Peiresc himself noticed that the work was coarse when compared with the productions of classical antiquity. Even among other Carolingian intaglios its quality seems rather poor. Its proximity in the case at the Museum to the wonderful rock crystal of Waulsort bearing the name of Lothaire, king of the Franks, has wronged it. It is nevertheless a moving piece of art, by its awkward pursuit of expression. Dalton has ascribed the work to the tenth century. The distorted attitudes of the Virgin and St. John, which recall, though in a clumsier style, some figures of the Utrecht Psalter, the shape of the cross, quite plain, without Titulus or inscription, might suggest a slightly earlier date, but we have so far no means of dating it with precision. Very little is known about the origin of most of these Carolingian intaglios, and it may be of some interest to reveal the primitive destination, at Saint-Denis, on the shrine of the patron saint, of this Carolingian rock crystal of the British Museum.

¹ E. Babelon, *Histoire de la gravure sur gemmes en France*, 1902, p. 30; O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems of the Post-Classical Periods*, 1915, no. 561. The preceding information on this British Museum rock crystal was kindly given to me, a few years ago, by Mr. Tonnochy, Keeper of the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities.

² The *Liste* quoted above (p. 42) ascribes to the Saint-Denis rock crystal: '6 pouces de haut, 3

pouces 9 lignes de large (162 mm. x 100 mm.).'⁴ E. Babelon (*loc. cit.*, p. 30) gives to the British Museum intaglio the following measurements: 'H. 155 mm.; L. 103 mm.' The difference of a few millimetres may be imputed to the curved shape of the crystal on one side.

³ A. M. Friend (*Art Studies*, i, 1923) has ascribed some Carolingian rock crystals representing the Crucifixion to the school of Saint-Denis.

RHODES AND THE ORIGIN OF THE BASTION

By B. H. ST. J. O'NEIL, M.A., F.S.A.

THE delightful island of Rhodes is famous for a variety of reasons, and not least because of its possession for over two centuries by the Knights Hospitallers or Knights of St. John. After retreating from the Holy Land the Knights took Rhodes from the Byzantine Empire in 1309; they left it on 1st January 1523, according to the terms of the capitulation, after a most arduous siege by the Turks in the preceding year. They had also been besieged by the Turks in 1320, by the Egyptians in 1444, and by the Turks again in 1480. These sieges and the almost constant danger of attack by hostile neighbours laid upon the Knights the necessity of maintaining their defences in a high state of readiness. The mainland of Asia Minor is normally visible from the island at a distance of twelve miles.

Small wonder is it, therefore, that one of the reasons for the fame of Rhodes is the possession of great fortifications. They have been extensively, although not exhaustively, treated in a well-illustrated folio by Albert Gabriel,¹ to whose work the present writer pays humble tribute. Gabriel points out that the fortifications of Rhodes are by no means so large or so splendid as many of their period in western Europe. Their value lies in the facts (1) that their various periods are easily discernible because the *enceinte* was gradually extended outwards rather than radically remodelled, since the Knights were always short of money, and because the period of most parts can be determined from the arms of the Grand Masters built into them; (2) that they are preserved almost intact, since the Turks after 1522 merely repaired the breaches made by their own guns; and (3) that they were built during a period of transition in the art of fortification. The preservation of the fortifications has been due to the fact that under Turkish rule, as in the case of Constantinople, all the land immediately outside them came to be used for cemeteries. At Rhodes, however, these cemeteries have now ceased to be obvious, since they have been converted into gardens, whence the fortifications may be seen to great advantage.

For the early work in the walls Gabriel finds no parallels amongst the fortifications in the Holy Land, whence the Knights came, save in some details. He prefers to make comparisons with work in Provence (the province which gave to the Knights their first six Grand Masters in Rhodes), particularly at Avignon, and in Spain. He thinks it possible that after 1480 there may have been Italian influence, but is doubtful because the rapid progress of Charles VIII of France with his train of artillery through Italy in 1494 is normally interpreted as implying that the Italians were then backward in fortification against cannon. The purpose of this paper is to confirm Gabriel's doubts on this point and to suggest that the Rhodian defences of 1480-96 owed everything to Pierre d'Aubusson, Superintendent of Fortification from 1472, who was Grand Master from 1476 to 1503, and was made Cardinal in 1489. He was a man skilled in mathematics as applied to

¹ A. Gabriel, *La Cité de Rhodes MCCCX-MDXXII*, Paris, 1921.

war. One of his predecessors had been responsible for small outworks, pointed towards the field, which on plan look like primitive bastions or ravelins. Aubusson built a series of larger and more solid works of similar plan which culminated in the Boulevard d'Auvergne (1496). In all essentials save one this is none other than a bastion of the type familiar in many a European sixteenth- and seventeenth-century *enceinte*.

The earliest dated towers are two on the northern (seaward) side of the town, between the towers of St. Paul and St. Peter. They bear the arms of Juan Fernandez Heredia of Aragon (1377-96).¹ They are rectangular, purely medieval in appearance, in general aspect not unlike the contemporary outer gatehouse of Castle Rushen, Isle of Man,² and are armed only with cross-slits for bows (pl. vi a).

Antonio Fluvian, also of Aragon (1421-37), added a number of towers to the wall, including St. George's Tower, and it is in this tower that provision for defence with guns apparently first makes its appearance in Rhodes. At parapet level there are some primitive rectangular gunports. Their size and position makes their purpose clear, especially when they are compared with undoubted gunports of a slightly later date, both at Rhodes (pl. viii a) and at Istanbul (pl. viii d). It is somewhat surprising to find that gunports do not appear in Rhodes until this period, whereas they occur in England, although of a different pattern, as early as 1380, if not earlier. The many openings in Canterbury Westgate, which are shaped like an inverted keyhole, and which are certainly original features of the building, erected in 1380-1,³ show by the size of the round hole and the level of the bed of their embrasure above floor-level that they were for use with the new weapon, cannon. There are similar openings in Cooling Castle, Kent, which was licensed in 1381.⁴ Similar but slightly smaller openings occur in the western part of Southampton Town Wall, which may date from as early as 1360, but this date is uncertain.⁵

The next Grand Master, Jean de Lastic of Auvergne (1437-54), perhaps in anticipation or as the result of the siege by the Egyptians in 1444, added greatly to the fortifications. Constantinople fell to the Turks in 1453, with the result that the Knights were directly menaced as never before, and for the next seventy years were the sole eastern bulwark of Christianity. Lastic built St. Mary's Tower, which has rectangular gunports at parapet level like those in St. George's Tower, already mentioned. It seems, too, that Lastic built the *fausse-braie* with its towers, two of which remain south-east of the Tower of Spain. These have gunports in the form of round holes with short detached slits above them for sighting the guns, such as are found elsewhere in Rhodes (pl. vi b).⁶ Similar gunports, but with cross-slits above them, occur in the gatehouse of Herstmonceux Castle, Sussex, which was licensed in 1441,⁷ and in the keep or Yellow Tower of Gwent at Raglan Castle, Monmouthshire (1435-45).⁸ An exact parallel in style is afforded by the

¹ The dates given in parentheses after a name indicate the period of a Grand Mastership.

² *Archæologia*, xciv, pl. iii a and b.

³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1377-81, 450.

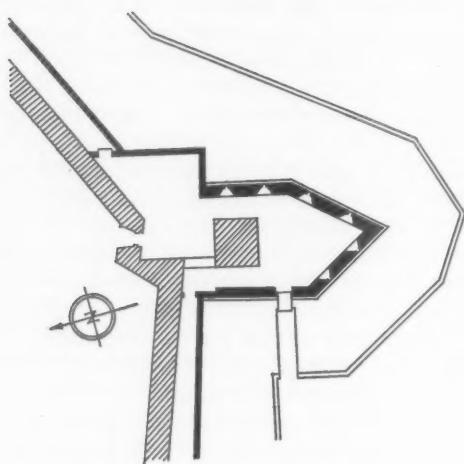
⁴ *Ibid.* 596.

⁵ 'Aspects of Archaeology in Britain and Beyond' (*Essays presented to O. G. S. Crawford*), 1951, 256 and fig. 60.

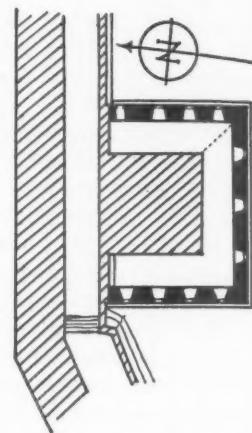
⁶ *Gabriel, op. cit.*, pl. ix.

⁷ *Arch. Journ.*, xcix, 110.

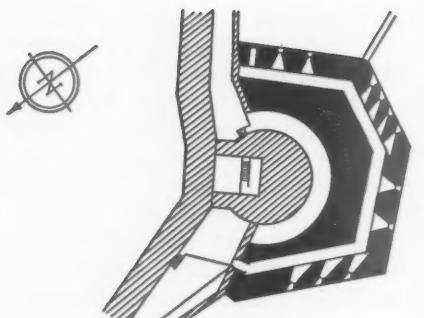
⁸ *Official Guide*, H.M.S.O.



a. Barbican at Koskino Gate (1461-7)

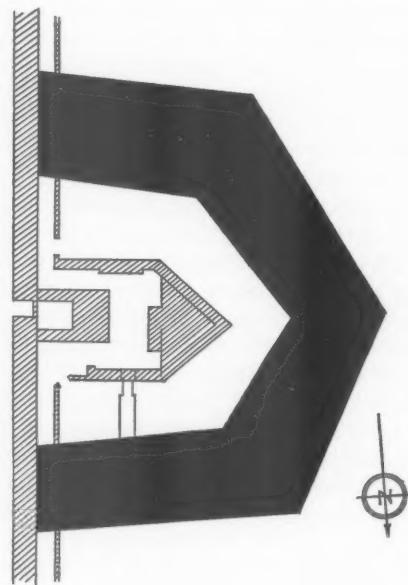


b. Boulevard between Koskino Gate and the Tower of Italy (1476-89)



c. Tower and Boulevard of Spain (1489)

FIG. 1. Barbican and Boulevards at Rhodes. (N.B. All are drawn to the same scale)



d. Boulevard of Auvergne (1496)

FIG. 1. Barbican and Boulevards at Rhodes. (N.B. All are drawn to the same scale)

100 FEET
10 0 50 100
10 0 10 20 30 METRES

later gunports at Kirby Muxloe Castle, Leicestershire, which was begun in 1480-4, but never finished.¹

During the time of Grand Master Raymondo Zacosta of Aragon (1461-7) an addition was made at the Koskino Gate which is of highest significance (figs. 1a and 2). This gate lies at an angle of the fortifications, and already had in front of it a square tower, open at the gorge and attached to the curtain only by means of a high-level bridge. This was a method adopted at Rhodes for mural towers in the earlier part of the fifteenth century, which is of considerable interest but which, not being germane to the present topic, will not be further discussed. The addition made by Zacosta, to cover the gate, took the form of a large but low tower, which springs from the wall of the fausse-braie. It is four-sided, but open at the gorge. It completely encloses the older tower, which overtops it, with space to spare. The ditch is taken round it, and a gateway, bearing Zacosta's arms, exists in one flank, permitting egress across the ditch by means of a bridge, now of stone but originally a drawbridge. A similar addition was constructed to cover St. George's Gate, but this was later obscured by the subsequent construction of the Boulevard of Auvergne, and its form rests upon the researches of Albert Gabriel² (figs. 1d and 4).

These additions to the defences performed a function which was also performed by many a medieval barbican of the type still extant at Beaumaris Castle, Anglesey.³ They covered the gate and made attack more difficult, not only by multiplying the defences, but also by causing the assailants to change direction and expose themselves to flank attack. At Rhodes, however, it is the actual form of these barbicans which is all-important. Two of their sides, their flanks, are perpendicular to the curtain of the fausse-braie, but the other two sides, their faces, make a salient angle to the field. They are liberally supplied with gunports of the types already in use in Rhodes, both round and rectangular holes at parapet level and square holes with sighting slits above them at ground level. These towers or barbicans were clearly designed for use solely with cannon, and as clearly their form was at that time considered to be more suitable for the purpose than those other forms which had hitherto been employed, namely round or rectangular projections. If one proceeds to compare these works of Zacosta on plan with many a sixteenth-century picture of a medieval European town, which shows extra defences for cannon covering a gate, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that these Rhodian defences are none other than an early form of bastion or ravelin. Their purpose and general form is the same as the later works; only their dimensions and solidity are different.

It is well here to go back to the time of the previous Grand Master, Jacques de Milly of Auvergne (1454-61), because he was responsible for a tower east of Koskino Gate which bears his arms (pl. vii a). This tower projects a normal distance from the curtain and is of normal height, but instead of being round or square to the field it is pointed rather like the barbican covering Koskino Gate just described but, of course, much higher. Moreover, its salient is of solid masonry. Since this precedes the work of Zacosta in date, it is possible that its shape influenced the

¹ Ibid., and *Trans. Leics. Arch. Soc.*, xi, 193 ff.

² Gabriel, *op. cit.* 34 and fig. 9.

³ *Royal Comm. Hist. Mons. Anglesey*, p. 9.

latter in his choice at the gate itself, and it is true that there are parallels for this type of tower elsewhere in the Mediterranean. One, known to Professor A. W. Lawrence and mentioned to the present writer, is to be found at La Cource in Cilicia. Another, broader in comparison with its projection, may be seen on the seaward side of the Castle of Tripoli in Libya, where it clearly was in existence before the present regular bastioned enceinte was built up against it after the Knights received Tripoli in 1530 (pl. vii *b*).¹ Then also at the Castle of Yedi Couli in Istanbul, built by the Turks in 1457, there are slight projections of pointed form at four re-entrant angles of the curtain between the towers.² These also are solid, and had rectangular gunports at their summit, which is slightly higher than the line of the main rampart walk. Works of this kind may have played their part in the development of ideas which led to the perfection of the bastion, but in the present writer's opinion they are hardly more than adumbrations of the final form when compared with the work of Zacosta at the Koskino Gate.

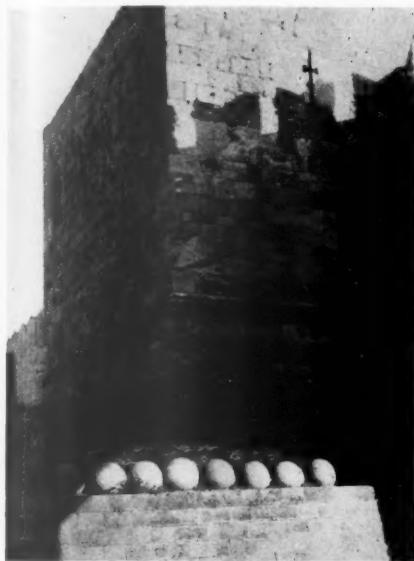
The Grand Master after Zacosta was Gian Baptista Orsini of Italy (1467-76), but, since from 1472 onwards he had as his Superintendent of Fortification Pierre d'Aubusson of Auvergne, who in 1476 succeeded him as Grand Master, the works down to 1496, which are about to be described, may all be attributed to the genius of that energetic man. During this time there occurred the siege by the Turks in 1480 and an earthquake in the following year. Aubusson's works before 1480 are all purely medieval in type. The Marine Gate, built in 1478, is a very fine structure, now well and completely restored after severe damage during the last war, but it is just a medieval gate with heavy machicolated parapet (pl. vi *c*). Gabriel considered it to be purely decorative and not a truly military work; the present writer thinks this is going too far, because the Knights could never afford to spend money on useless work. The parapets have gunports of the kind already noticed in the work of Lastic, which have round holes with short slits above for sighting. In this respect there had been no change during twenty-four years.

A few years after 1481, however, all is different. New works were erected outside the western and southern part of the enceinte, some of which are exactly dated. The Barbican of England was completed in 1487, the Boulevard of Spain by 1489, and the Boulevard of Auvergne by 1496. In addition there are other boulevards, which bear Aubusson's arms: they are the rectangular boulevard between Koskino Gate and the Tower of Italy, which must be before 1489 because Aubusson's arms do not include the Cardinal's hat which he received in that year, and the boulevard covering Koskino Gate. These boulevards are all different in shape. This may have been due in part to the terrain, but, since the latest in date is the most regular of the series and will be seen to lead on directly to all regular bastions thereafter, it seems better to regard them as experiments or perhaps rather as desperate attempts to find the best method of defence against a pressing and relentless foe.

Of these five outworks, which, it will be noted, are called barbican or boulevard but never bastion, the most primitive in appearance is the boulevard midway between Koskino Gate and the Tower of Italy (fig. 1 *b* and pl. vi *d*). It consists of

¹ The illustration is by kind permission of Mr. C. N. Johns.

² *J.B.A.A.*, 3rd Series, xiv, 27 ff. and pl. XII.



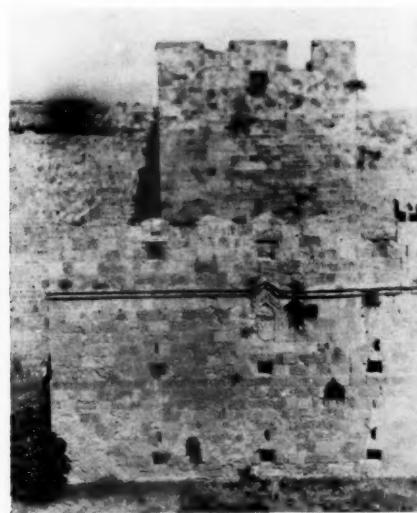
a. Tower east of Tower of St. Paul, Rhodes



b. Gunport in Tower of North Rampart, Rhodes



c. Marine Gate, Rhodes. (Tower to right restored 1952)



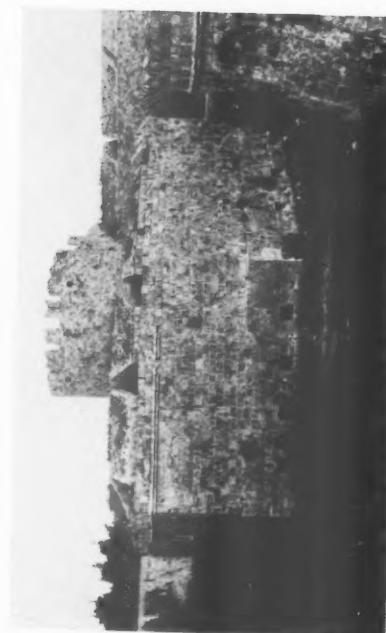
d. Boulevard between Koskino Gate and Tower of Italy, Rhodes



a. Tower east of Koskino Gate, Rhodes



b. Castle of Tripoli, Tripolitania



c. Tower and Boulevard of Spain, Rhodes



d. Tower and Boulevard of Italy, Rhodes

a low vertical wall which clasps three sides of the tower on the curtain behind it. It has three tiers of rectangular gunports with sighting slits above; the sighting slits of the top tier are flat oblong in shape. In its purpose, its general appearance, and its gunports this boulevard resembles the outwork built by Zacosta at the Koskino Gate except that it does not cover an entrance into the town and that it has no salient angle to the field.

The other four boulevards of the series are more substantial works. Their walls are very thick, and all except the Boulevard of Spain have a battered outer face. They have a varying number of sides, but all may be said to have a salient angle or angles towards the enemy. All except the Boulevard of Koskino Gate have gunports at a low level to rake the ditch, but only one—and this the last in the series—is attached to the main curtain rather than to the *fausse-braie*. This last feature is the most important of all.

The Barbican of England (1487) is an irregular polygon in plan. It covers an angle tower and flanks an entrance into the town. It has a battered outer face to its very thick wall; it has no string-course below the parapets, but this may have been removed when the latter were erected. As at present seen, they date from the early sixteenth century. There are the usual rectangular gunports in two tiers to defend the ditch, of which some were later blocked.

The Boulevard covering Koskino Gate must date from before 1489, because the arms of Aubusson which grace it do not include the Cardinal's hat. This is another polygonal structure, like the Barbican of England (Fig. 2). It also has a very thick wall, but it covers an even larger area of ground. Its outer face has a slightly steeper batter than that of the Barbican of England and a string-course with double moulding, which seems to be a mark of Aubusson's work. There are no gunports at moat level, but, as the existing parapets are due only to a heightening rather than a complete rebuilding in the early sixteenth century, there are still traces of the original gunports at parapet level.

The Boulevard of Spain (1489) has five sides (fig. 1c and pl. vii c). Its outer face is vertical and there is a string-course near its summit, but once again the existing parapets are the product of early-sixteenth-century remodelling. Rectangular gunports with sighting slits in one tier only may be seen at moat level.

A tendency to regularity in these structures which first shows itself in the Boulevard of Spain, when that work is compared with its three predecessors, becomes even more marked in the Boulevard of Auvergne, which dates from 1496 (figs. 1d and 3 and pl. ix a, b). This is the largest and most massive of all these outworks. It is four-sided and presents an obtuse point to the field. It is finely built with an outer face of ashlar, which has a pronounced batter below a string-course of the double-moulded type used by Aubusson. The parapets are not original and, strange though this may seem, they should be attributed to the Turks after the siege of 1522 (pl. ix a, b). The masonry of which they are composed is somewhat different from that of the battered face below, but it ranges with the masonry which fills an obvious breach in the south-western face of the boulevard. Since the date of the original structure is 1496, this breach can only have been made in the siege of 1522. The Turks repaired the damage they had done to the fortifications, but

it is remarkable to find that in doing so they did not put back sloping parapets in accordance with the custom then prevailing in Christian countries, but merely built replicas of normal medieval Rhodian parapets which had been obsolete

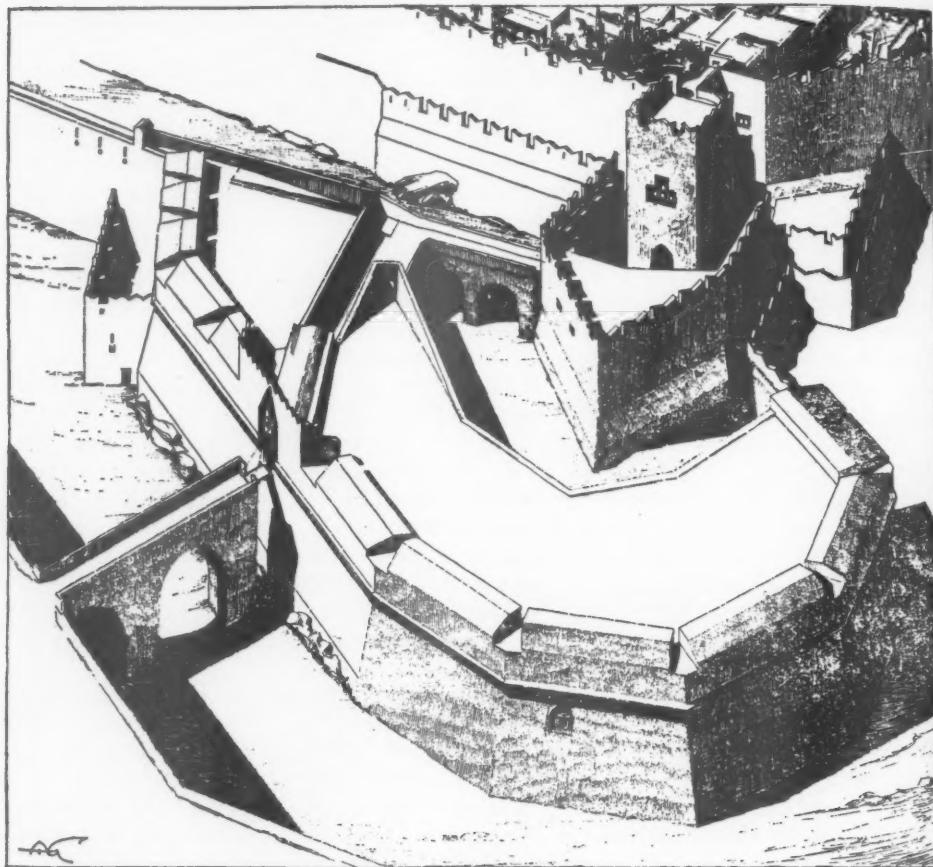


FIG. 2. Koskino Gate and Boulevard (from Gabriel)

already for many years. They included gunports, but these are merely rectangular holes such as they themselves had built in Istanbul seventy years earlier (*v. p. 45*), and such as the Knights and others had long since abandoned.

The most important feature of this boulevard has yet to be mentioned. It is that it springs not from the *fausse-braie* but from the curtain (pl. xi *a*). Gabriel thought otherwise, considering that the boulevard originally sprang from the *fausse-braie* but was extended backwards to abut the curtain by Villiers de l'Isle Adam, the last Grand Master in Rhodes (1521-34). Careful scrutiny of the

masonry during a brief visit to Rhodes in October and November 1952 did, however, convince the present writer and his very helpful companion, Mr. J. O. Brew, Director of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, that Gabriel was wrong.

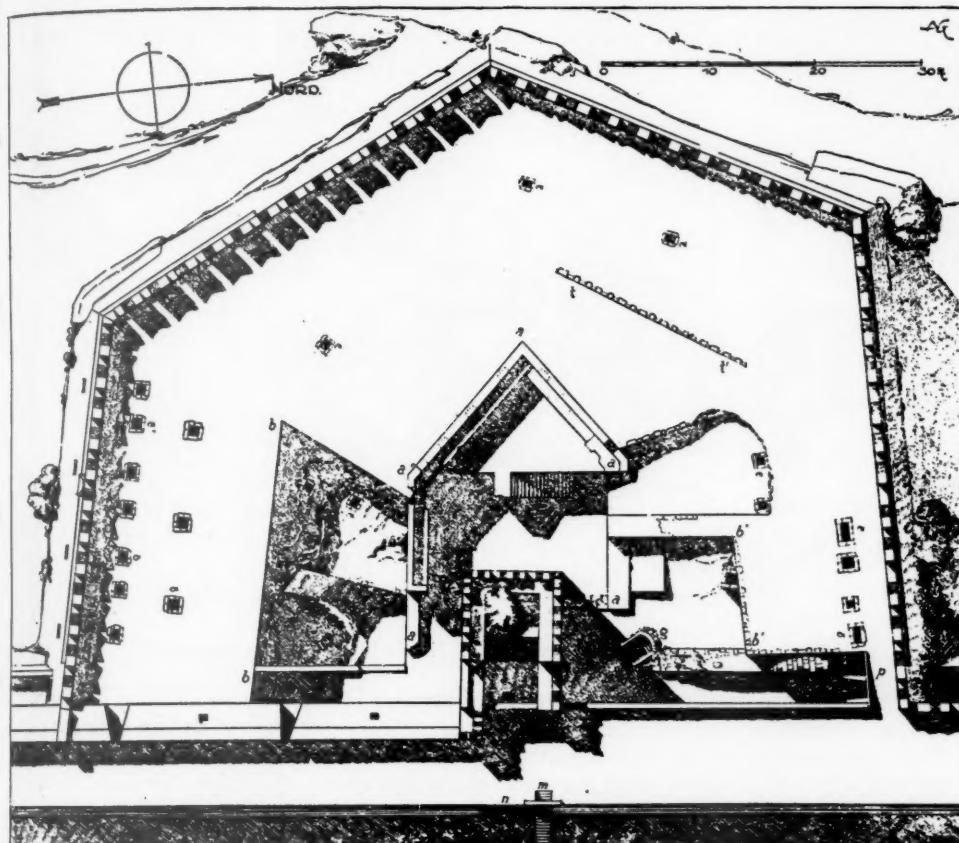


FIG. 3. Boulevard of Auvergne (from Gabriel)

The latter was perhaps deceived by the ending of the string-course at the line of the *fausse-braie*, and it is true that at the top of the wall of the boulevard the masonry at these points of junction is of a different kind. But lower down it is all of the same type, and there seems no doubt that the original flanks of the boulevard were already in 1496 carried right back to rest against the curtain.

With that in mind this boulevard may be compared in plan with many a bastion of regular fortifications in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Many of the latter have casemates in the flank, but many others do not, and it is against these that the Boulevard of Auvergne should be judged. It is not a completely

solid work, as a true bastion should be, because it has gunports in its flanks—a few in its northern flank, and two tiers in its southern flank—of the usual sort with rectangular hole and sighting slit above, but this is really the only feature which prevents it from being called bastion. If, therefore, one asks the question, 'Who invented the bastion?' the present writer suggests that the answer should be 'Pierre d'Aubusson at Rhodes in 1496'.

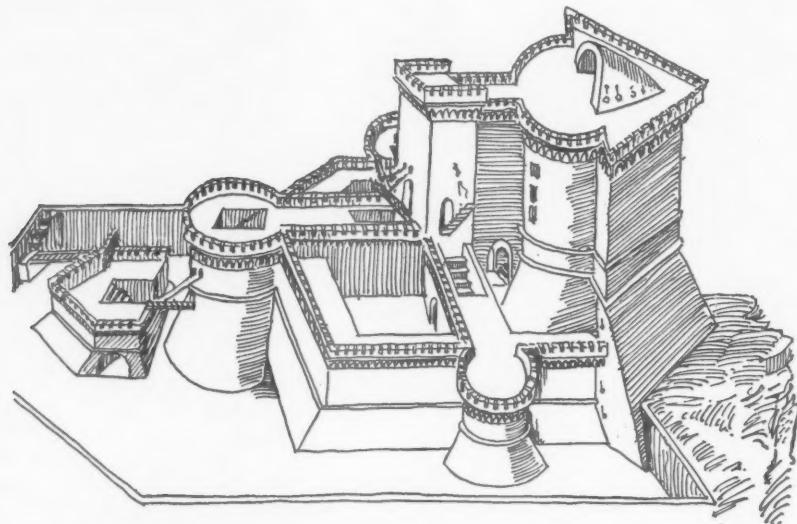


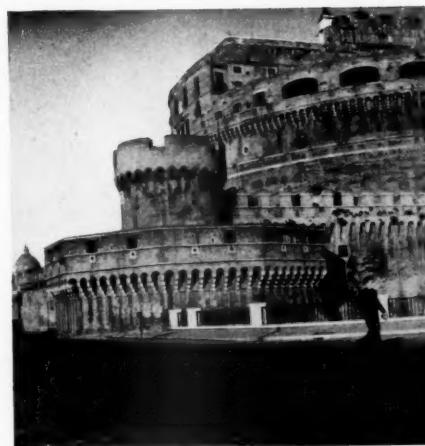
FIG. 4. Fortress designed by Francesco di Giorgio Martini (after Langenskiöld)

Time was when this invention was attributed to Michele Sanmicheli of Verona, whose Baluardo della Trinita, erected 1530-1, has been quoted as the earliest of its type. It may, indeed, have been the immediate cause of the sudden rapid spread of this type of fortification in Italy and elsewhere after 1530, since its immediate predecessors at Verona, Baluardo delle Maddalene and Baluardo delle Boccare, are much more primitive in appearance. But, as Eric Langenskiöld has pointed out,¹ there is clear evidence that Michele had forerunners, who may be said to deprive him of the honour even amongst his own countrymen. Langenskiöld refers not only to Antonio and Giuliano da Sangallo and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, who were working from at least 1494 onwards, but also to Francesco di Giorgio Martini, whose manuscript treatise on fortification was written about 1482. A comparison of the drawing which Langenskiöld illustrates from this manuscript (fig. 4) with the Boulevard of Auvergne at Rhodes will show two great differences. The low work at the extreme left in the drawing is not attached to the main part of the castle. It is detached like all the other boulevards at Rhodes; whereas it is precisely in this attachment of a low angular work to the main curtain that the invention of the

¹ *Michele Sanmicheli, the Architect of Verona*, Uppsala, 1938 (in English), 225 ff



a. A gunport (interior) with sighting slit over



b. Castello S. Angelo, Rome



c. The wall of the Seray, Istanbul



d. The wall of the Seray, Istanbul



c. Ormedes Bastion, St. Angelo, Malta; one face and
an orillon



a. Boulevard of Auvergne, south flank, Rhodes



b. Boulevard of Auvergne, south-west face, Rhodes

bastion occurs. All the defences in the main part of the castle in the drawing are high and most of them are round. Furthermore, throughout the castle, even on the detached work, there are machicolated parapets. Truly this was but a medieval work without adequate realization of the power of the new weapon.

The suspicion aroused by these considerations, namely that the Italians were not at this time in the forefront in the art of fortification, seems well founded when one reflects how their works fell rapidly before the artillery of the French in 1494. In spite of this the Castello St. Angelo in Rome, which according to an inscription upon it was built in the following year, still shows no advance in plan or detail. The curtain has angular towers, but they are small in area and thin, and they have machicolated parapets. The latter are of the same type as those of the main citadel, which bears the date 1495, and are, therefore, presumably of this same date (pl. viii b). These towers have many gunports in the parapets, but they are small round holes, primitive indeed when compared with those in use in Rhodes at the same time. On these examples it surely cannot be maintained that the bastion was known in Italy before it was known in Rhodes.

The only other possible claimants to the invention seem to be the Turks, but they can be dismissed rather summarily. They were the chief aggressors in Europe at this time, and they clearly relied more upon their strong right arm and their *élan* than upon fortifications. That their ideas on the subject were primitive in 1522, when they repaired their own damage at Rhodes after the siege, has already been shown (p. 50). Further evidence is forthcoming from Istanbul, in the Castle of Roumeli Hissar on the Bosphorus, erected in 1452,¹ and in the works built just after the capture of Constantinople, the Castle of Yedi Couli in 1457² and the enceinte of the Seray soon afterwards (pl. viii d). All these works are extremely solid, thick, and high, but they are purely medieval in appearance. There are some gunports, usually rectangular but sometimes circular (pl. viii c), at the level of the wall-walk or correspondingly in the mural towers, but the whole aspect of the works appears antiquated in comparison with contemporary fortifications at Rhodes. The present writer has not seen any Turkish fortifications of the end of the fifteenth century, but he is left with the impression that the Turks were not inventors in this field of activity at this time, precisely because they had far less need of defences than had their harassed opponents.

The main purpose of this paper is to establish the claim of Aubusson as the inventor of the bastion, but it will be as well to carry the story of the fortifications of Rhodes down to their end in 1522. Emery d'Amboise of France, the next Grand Master (1503-12), began the rampiring or thickening of the main curtain, and built the gate bearing his name, which was finished in 1512. It has very solid, squat flanking towers. Fabrizio del Carretto of Italy (1513-21) continued the process of rampiring. He also thickened the Tower of Italy and built outside it the Boulevard of Italy (1515-17). This is not attached to the curtain but to the fausse-braie, and it is not angular but round (vii). It is a very fine example of its kind, very thick and low, with sloping parapets which contain externally splayed embrasures for guns. There are also gunports in a lower tier, to rake the

¹ *Archaeologia*, lxxx, 217-25.

² *J.B.A.A.*, 3rd Series, xiv, 27 ff. and pl. xii.

ditch, which have external splays, far more developed in this respect than anything hitherto seen in Rhodes. Carretto was also responsible for replacing older parapets in many parts of the fortifications with the much-improved type of his day. All these features are fine examples of their kind, comparable with the best of Henry VIII's castles in England in 1540 and succeeding years, but, as the sequel showed, they have no part in the story of the development of the bastion. The Boulevard of Italy is a product of the curious preference for rotundity which afflicted fortification engineers in all parts of Europe in the first third of the sixteenth century. Besides the late development in England which has been mentioned there are the fortification drawings of Albrecht Dürer,¹ which are all of this character, and the Baluardo delle Boccare at Verona (1520-30).²

The last Grand Master in Rhodes, Philippe Villiers de l'Isle Adam of France (1521-34), had little time to improve the fortifications before the Turks were upon him. After the capitulation he led the Knights away westwards until they finally settled in Malta in 1530. Here they built new fortifications. By now the Italians were the acknowledged masters in the art of fortification, and the earliest remaining work of the Knights in Malta, the Ormedes Bastion in St. Angelo (pl. ix c), dated to 1541, is in the fully developed Italian style with eared angles, called orillons.

¹ *Etliche underricht, zu befestigung der Stett, Schloss, und Flecken, Nüremberg, 1527.*

² Langenskiöld, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

THE PLAN OF THE ABBEY CHURCH
OF THE BENEDICTINE NUNNERY OF SAINT MARY,
WEST MALLING, KENT

By F. C. ELLISTON-ERWOOD, F.S.A.

THE Benedictine Nunnery at Malling, Kent, was founded by Bishop Gundulf of Rochester (1076–1107) c. 1090, and though there appears to be some evidence of a pre-conquest foundation here, it is to Gundulf that the medieval nunnery owes its origin, and much of the walling still remaining can confidently be ascribed to his period. Of particular interest is the eastern processional doorway (pl. xiv b) constructed entirely in calcareous tufa and probably the earliest doorway of its kind in the country.

The exact position of Gundulf as a church builder is somewhat obscure. Though he is generally credited with the building of the church and early monastic foundation of Rochester (c. 1080), the late Sir William Hope was inclined to give the credit to Archbishop Lanfranc. In his monograph on the cathedral and priory,¹ he stated 'it is very possible that the archbishop was actually, though the bishop was nominally, responsible for the foundation of the monastery of Rochester, and the building of a suitable church for the new convent' though almost without exception throughout his long account he speaks 'for convenience'² of the builder as Gundulf. At other times he speaks in no uncertain manner of the bishop, and not the archbishop, as the man responsible.³

On the other hand the late Dr. Fairweather was quite convinced⁴ of Gundulf's planning though he admits (and indeed the scheme he proposed for a revised plan for the early cathedral depended entirely on this assumption) that the influence of Lanfranc was very strong.

The work generally ascribed to Gundulf is to be found in the Tower of London, Rochester Castle, the first Norman church of Rochester Cathedral and the tower there still known by his name, S. Leonard's Tower, West Malling and the Nunnery in the same place (which is the subject of this paper), and finally, though with much less reason, Dartford church tower.

Of these Rochester Cathedral and Malling Nunnery have the best claim for authenticity and it has long been felt that a fresh examination of the fabric of each of these, and of their planning would shed much needed light on a dark subject. The desirability for this particular investigation is very obvious in the case of the major foundation at Rochester as the accounts given by the late Sir William Hope and the plans of the building with which he illustrates his papers⁵ show unusual features which are defended on the grounds that Gundulf was an original genius

¹ *The Cathedral Church and Monastery of S. Andrew, Rochester*, p. 7.

² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁴ *Arch. Journ.* lxxxvi, 187–212.

⁵ *Archaeologia*, xl ix (1884) and *Arch. Cant.* xxiii and xxiv (1898–9).

who early abandoned traditional planning and introduced new ideas, chief among which is a square-ended quire with a square-ended contemporary chapel projecting eastwards from it.

This reconstruction has always had its critics, though it must be admitted that they were not very vocal during the lifetime of that somewhat formidable controversialist. Moreover Hope claimed that his plan was based on the evidence of excavation by himself and others. Nevertheless when criticism did find expression it was both precise and definite. The late Sir Alfred Clapham, whose knowledge of Romanesque architecture was unique, says:¹

‘The form suggested by Sir William Hope rests on little or no evidence and is neither reasonable nor probable.’

and Dr. Fairweather, before he boldly propounded his more reasonable solution² (more reasonable, but still not entirely convincing) said:

‘Gundulf’s church is here credited with a normal nave, a square ended eastern limb aisled to its extremity, of a type which is not shown elsewhere in England for at least two thirds of a century.’

As it is impossible to reconcile these divergent opinions without recourse to an excavation, which, if even it were possible, would be of considerable magnitude, it would appear that some idea of Gundulf’s ideas on planning might be gained if another indisputable foundation of his could be examined, and here Malling Abbey immediately comes into the picture, as the one building likely to afford the light so much needed. It was almost contemporaneous with the cathedral, it was known to display much early work and the site of the church was in the main unencumbered. Hope himself had expressed a wish to excavate there, but evidently he did not do so, and the area was to all intents virgin. Dr. Fairweather was attracted to the site about 1911 though his paper on the history of the abbey³ was not published till twenty years later. He evidently held up publication in the hope that he might be allowed to conduct an excavation, but coming to the conclusion that this was not likely to be permitted he resigned himself to an incomplete paper, which thus contains much about the monastic buildings but little concerning the church plan. It was therefore an unkind rub that in the following year (1932) I was enabled, through the friendly influence of our late fellow Canon R. U. Potts with the Lady Abbess and the Cowley Fathers, to make investigation on the site of the church. At the time I did not know Dr. Fairweather, but as soon as I was able, I asked him to be associated in the work. He agreed, and his assistance was continuous and invaluable. Though late, I must pay a sincere tribute to his memory.

A word of explanation is, I think, necessary to explain how the work done in 1932 is not available till twenty years later, making an interval of over forty years since Dr. Fairweather first began his study of the site, but a most mysterious disappearance of practically all my field notes and sketches is only paralleled by

¹ *English Romanesque Architecture*, ii, 24.

² *Arch. Journ.* lxxxvi, 187 ff.

³ *Arch. Journ.* lxxxviii (1931).

their equally strange reappearance among the papers of a deceased antiquary bequeathed to the Kent Archaeological Society at Maidstone, from whence they were recovered. Luckily I had made a rough plan which I was able to show to several authorities, and their comments and criticisms are incorporated here, but naturally there was some hesitation in publishing a plan whose accuracy might be called in question and which, in the absence of corroboration from notes made on the site, could not be fully substantiated.

The documentary history of Malling Abbey is fully detailed in *V.C.H. Kent* (vol. ii, p. 146) and a summary of the most important matters is given in Dr. Fairweather's paper above-mentioned. Dr. Rose Graham has given me other references not included among those above mentioned, though none of them bear on the question of building dates, the chief of which are:

- c. 1090. Foundation of the nunnery by Gundulf.
- 1106. Dedication of the church and installation of the first abbess by the bishop only a short time before his death.
- 1190. A destructive fire is said to have consumed much of the town and abbey.
- 1350. The house was reported as being in very reduced circumstances, according to the visitor's report but it evidently recovered as there are records of repairs and reconstructions. The gatehouse and its adjoining chapel, the octagonal upper stage of the western tower, new work in the chapter house and the south range, and windows in the guest house are among the works carried out about this time.
- 1538. The Abbey suppressed.
- 1740. Much work was carried out during this period by Fraser Honeywood in converting to the Abbey remains into a dwelling house. This involved the destruction of ancient structures and the utilization of old material in newer erections.
- 1764. The property passed from the Honeywoods to George Talbot Foote, who built the cascade with stones from the church (c. 1810), and in the following year to Admiral Losack.
- 1844. Aretas Akers Esq.
- 1892. Miss Boyd, who presented it to a Benedictine Sisterhood (not the present inmates).
- 1916. In this year it became the property of the Cowley Fathers as Trustees for an Anglican Benedictine Sisterhood whose occupation of the site has naturally limited the scope of investigations.

The excavations now to be described were, in the main, devoted to an examination of the area covered by the eastern arm of the monastic church, but other diggings established the presence of the foundations of the north wall of the nave and of the absence of any aisle on that side, and of some indeterminate structures east of the north transept, whose north-east corner clasping buttress was located.

Summarized, the results of the examination were:

1. The early termination of the quire was completely destroyed by an amazing complex of water and gas mains, electric cables, sewers, and drains. By an unfortunate mischance the most suitable place of entry for all these modern conveniences lay directly across the site of the eastern arm of the church, and the trenches for these present-day amenities had cut right down to the underlying rock, and nothing survived.
2. Beyond this devastated area was a more profitable site and excavation here revealed a

square-ended foundation resting on the rock below (pl. xi a). The dimensions of this feature were:

width of foundations—5 ft.
east wall, exterior—21 ft.
side walls, length remaining—about 15 ft.
distance of east face of east wall from the east face of the east arch of the crossing—43 ft.

No masonry walling was found on this foundation which appeared to be of hard rammed earth with pieces of stone and chalk throughout its mass. It was very firm, and stood up, exposed to the weather for the whole period of the excavation, without any disintegration.

3. Some 20 feet or more, east of this foundation a second wall, heavily buttressed, was uncovered. It ran north and south, and near each end on its west face were indications of return walls. As far as could be ascertained, from the very small amounts of these lateral walls remaining, their direction appeared to be in line with the nave walls, though there was a certain amount of deflection.

It now becomes necessary to interpret these discoveries, not the least important and disconcerting being that of the square-ended chapel in a position analogous to that said to have been found at Rochester.

But first as regards the eastern end of the Abbey Church. Here was an absolutely barren area some 25 feet from east to west, extending for the whole width of the quire. There was space thus for two bays. What was the form of its termination? There are three possibilities: (a) square within and without; (b) square within, apsidal without; (c) apsidal within and without.

Of these the first must be ruled out. It was Hope's plan of Rochester and it is agreed on all sides now that such a plan did not exist in this country at the time of the foundation of the Abbey, that is, of course in any major church. Dated square ends of this type are:

Southwell, 1108-14.
Romsey, 1125-30.
Waverley, 1128.
Tintern, 1131.
S. Martin Newark, Dover, 1131.

S. Cross, Winchester, 1160.
Lewes Infirmary, mid-twelfth c.
The Hereford, Llandaff, and S. John Chester group, all between 1110 and 1140.

All of these are far too late in date to be compared with Malling and this termination is inadmissible.

The second possibility is more difficult to accept or dismiss. The prototype of this planning is the cathedral of Old Sarum, of which the first building, that of Bishop Herman, was commenced about 1068 and certainly occupied by 1092. This building had a central apse flanked by chapels at the ends of the quire aisles, square without and apsidal within. When the church was extended eastwards in the first half of the 12th century (before 1139) square-ended chapels, apsidal within, were again employed. At Lincoln, Durham, Blyth, and York S. Mary, to mention but a few examples, and all approximately comparable in date with Malling, the squared apse is to be found, but it is to be observed that in all of these

examples it is the side or flanking chapels that are so fashioned. There is not, I think, any instance of the main apse of any great church being so designed. One is aware that nunnery churches did not always comply with normal planning, but most of the deviations arose from the convent's peculiar needs. The shape of the east end of the church could hardly come under this category and thus, failing any architectural precedent, it may be maintained that this form was highly improbable.

There remains therefore only the apsidal termination. Of the two forms employed in this country, *viz.* apses in parallel and the ambulatory type, it is the latter that must be selected. The former demanded quire aisles which at Malling at this date certainly did not exist, and for the same reason, the apse at Malling could not have been of the true ambulatory type, *i.e.* with a continuous aisle surrounding the main altar. It was merely a large version of the simple semicircular termination. Its limits east and west are determined by the position of the east arch of the crossing and by the remains of the square-ended chapel just discovered. This will allow of a quire of two bays, the easternmost being apsidal. By reference to the plan (pl. x) where this solution has been inserted, it will be seen that the resulting church is quite normal and calls for no explanation.

Attention must now be directed to the small square-ended chapel, of which there are incontestable remains. When these foundations were uncovered it must be admitted a great shock was experienced by those present, and the obvious conclusion at the moment was that, after all, Hope was right and Gundulf was indeed an innovator. Now though these foundations are decidedly rectangular it may be supposed for argument's sake that the termination of this chapel may have been apsidal wholly or in part, or polygonal, or, as appears likely a straightforward rectangle.

The great majority of such early terminations were undoubtedly originally apsidal. Is it therefore likely that a massive rectangular foundation would have been prepared for such a one? If an apse were erected on these footings its walls could not have been more than 18 in. thick, otherwise they would have overlapped the foundation, and this measurement allows nothing for the usual set back of the walling from the edge of the substructure. An apse therefore seems architecturally improbable and the case is not much improved by supposing that the chapel was apsidal within and square outside, for though the wall would be more substantial at its angles, it would still be very thin in the centre. Further I cannot help thinking that these forms would have left some imprint of their unusual construction, however slight, on the surface of the foundation, but of this there was not a trace. A polygonal form, similar to that employed at Gloucester (1089-1100) would probably fit on the existing remains, but accepting the obvious interpretation that a rectangular foundation implies a rectangular superstructure the square-ended chapel would appear established.

Now remains the question of date. It cannot be considered as of like date as the remainder of the church. All chapels of this type and period are either apsidal or of some variant of that form and one can look in vain in this country for a parallel. Nor is it more common on the Continent where the only comparable examples known to me are Clermont-Ferrand Cathedral *c.* 946 and Tournous Abbey of

debatable date.¹ The former of these I have not seen, but the church at Tournous near Mâcon, has an apsidal ambulatory with three radiating chapels, each square-ended and built upon a crypt of identical plan. But the authorities on this extraordinary building are strangely at variance. By some the crypt is dated c. 980 or earlier while the upper church of exactly the same plan and size, and built indeed on the walls of the crypt beneath it, is assigned to the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth centuries. It is said that the upper part was rebuilt after the fire of 1008 though Laysterie² will not admit of a date earlier than the commencement of the eleventh century. My own visit was of but a few hours' duration, and my impression, such as it is, suggests a complete rebuilding of the east end, crypt and superstructure, in the eleventh century. But it does not appear likely that a discussion on the differences between French archaeologists, nor an attempt to find at Tournous the origin of Malling chapel, will be profitable or useful.

As this chapel cannot be of Gundulf's time and it must be earlier than the 13th-century extension of the quire to be mentioned later, there can be no alternative than to put this chapel in the 12th century when the apse was falling into disfavour and Cistercian influences were on the side of the square end. To this view the late Sir Alfred Clapham agreed.

What then of Hope's chapel at Rochester? All we have are his descriptions of excavations after J. T. Irvine's probings. The matter must be left in abeyance. The whole story would be more convincing but for a most remarkable similarity between his plan of Rochester and that of the Bishop's Chapel at Hereford³ and for the fact that the chapel as shown on the plan in *Archaeologia* (vol. xl ix, 1884) has its greater dimensions from north to south and has the note 'Box of bones found here' while the plan in *Archaeologia Cantiana* (vol. xxiii, 1898) is longer east to west and is marked 'S. Paulinus'. There is no record of any further excavations during the period between the two plans, nor any evidence to support the variations in the plan nor the ascription of the 'Box of Bones' to S. Paulinus.

To return to Malling: both the early apse and its later chapel were swept away in the early thirteenth century when, as was usual in most churches, the quire was extended to twice its length. Only the east wall of this enlargement was found with slight indications of the side walls, sufficient to show that the extension was not quite in alignment with the nave walls and the presumed site of the quire wall. This in itself would seem to imply an apse for the earlier building, suggesting as it does the uncertainty of determining the precise point of junction. The rather heavy buttresses on this new east end are difficult to explain except by an unintelligent adherence to custom, for there is no dangerous slope to the ground and the foundations are bedded firmly on an outcrop of Kentish Rag. There were two disturbed interments in association with the 13th-century extension, one just within the walls and one just without, but no evidence could be drawn from either.

From other evidence gathered from the excavations it seems that it was intended to erect a quire aisle on the north, approached from the north transept. About midway along the east face of this transept a slighter wall was uncovered, parallel

¹ Clapham, *Eng. Rom. Arch.*, p. 15; Jean Virey, *L'Église S. Philibert de Tournous*, passim.

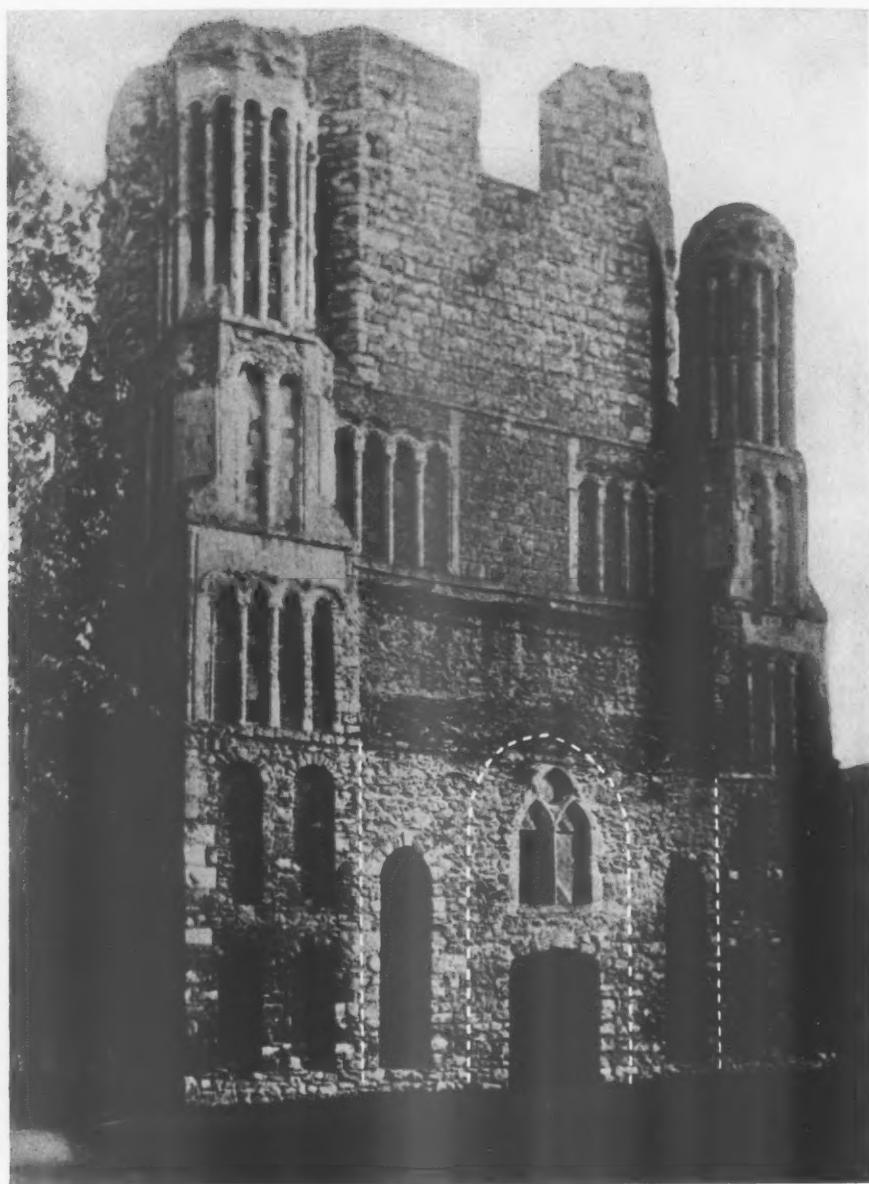
² *L'architecture religieuse en France à l'époque romane*, p. 155. ³ Clapham, *op. cit.*, p. 112.



a. The rectangular foundation of the late 12th-century eastern Chapel



b. Early masonry on the nave wall



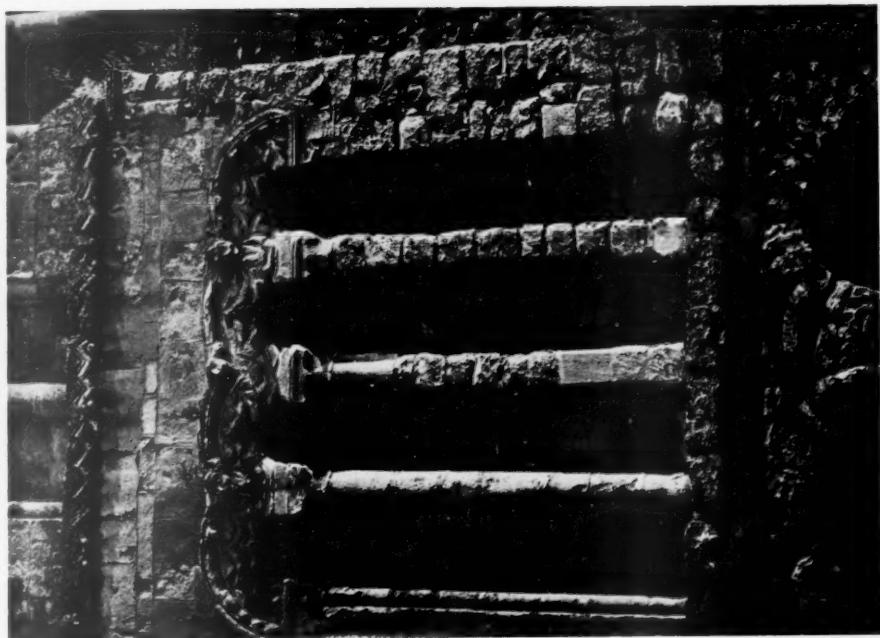
The west front and tower of Malling Abbey Church. Dotted lines show coigns of corner turrets and approximate position of rere-arch of great West Door



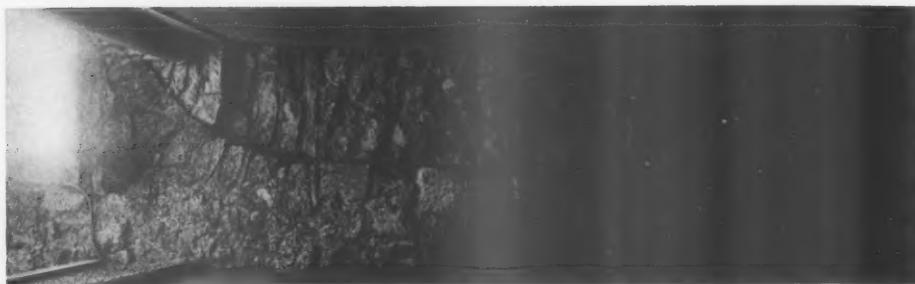
b. The south transept of the Abbey Church



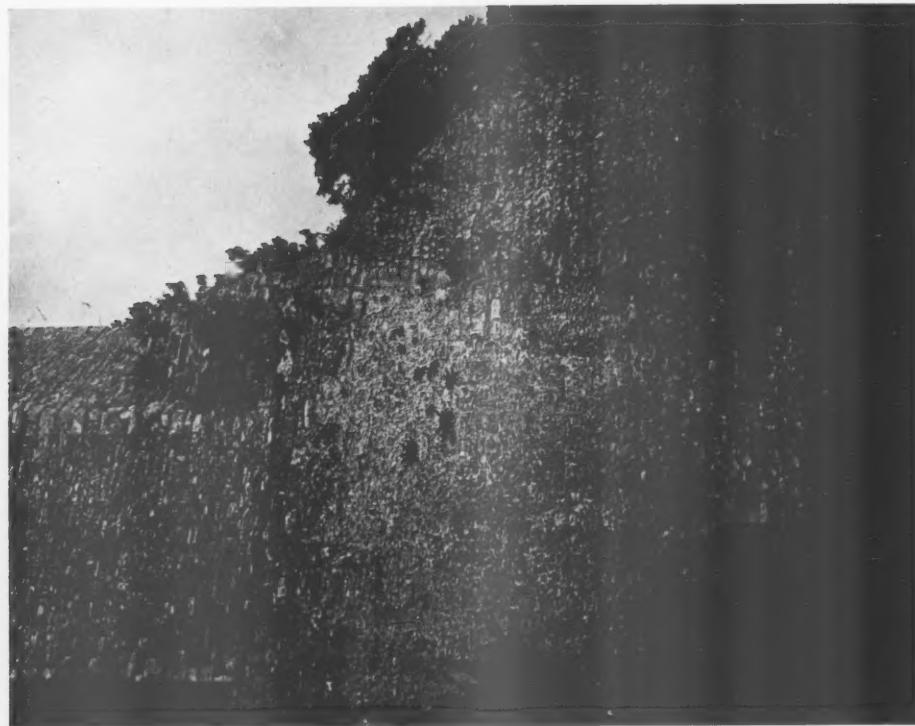
c. West front of Rochester Cathedral, for comparison with that of Malling



a. Detail of west tower, showing original design in tufa, continued in Caen stone



b. 'Tuff' arch, 'herringbone' processional doorway



a. South wall of tower and nave showing junction. Note absence of 'herringbone' work in tower

THE PLAN OF THE ABBEY CHURCH, WEST MALLING 61

to the quire and distant from it about 16 feet. This is probably of thirteenth-century date but any further indications of this were lost after it had been traced for a few feet.

Now it is necessary to turn to the western end of the church and consider the many problems connected with the western tower (pl. xii). Not a very well known feature, probably on account of the enclosed, semi-private nature of the community living there, it is a valuable example of early Norman building, and, of course associated with Bishop Gundulf, though it remains to decide how far this claim can be substantiated. It might be mentioned here (for nowhere in his paper already mentioned does Dr. Fairweather suggest it) that there must have been a central tower over the crossing. It was not part of the contemporary pattern in this country to carry roofs of major churches from east to west nor from north to south in an unbroken line. A tower was always built at the crossing and while in many cases it did not rise far above the roof ridge, it did provide gable ends on which the various roofs could depend. It was a stabilizing element in construction, and the great arches at Malling, one of which, the south, is still evident though blocked, certainly imply such a feature (pl. xiii b).

So then when we come to deal with the problem of the western tower and its details, the fact that there was already a tower in being must be borne in mind.

The west tower presents many points of interest, and a study of these may help in unravelling the somewhat tangled story behind its architecture. Among these, the most important are:

1. The herringbone masonry that is a notable feature of the early or Gundulfian church stops short at the west end of the nave and does not appear anywhere in the tower (pl. xi b and pl. xiv a).
2. There are three distinct building periods to be distinguished in this tower at the present.
 - (a) The lower part is in the main of rag rubble with much calcareous tufa. It is without ornament.
 - (b) This finishes in an irregular line above which the masonry is of coursed rag with ornamental details in Caen stone (pl. xiii a).
 - (c) Above this the tower is carried up as an octagonal structure, with detached octagonal arched turrets at each angle. These latter probably belong to the period (b) above, but the central portion of coursed rag and very large stones is certainly later.
3. It is evident to any student of early Norman building that the present design of the lower part of the west front is an impossibility for any medieval church. Careful examination of this part of the building makes it clear that in the original arrangement the central portion of this tower was set back from the face of the flanking turrets by at least a foot. Further, from the interior of the tower the outline of a great blocked rere arch can be clearly distinguished, the blocking including the obviously inserted window now above the door. If this is accepted, the original design of the west front becomes a version of that still remaining at Rochester.

Each of these points will now be further elaborated.

1. Though the herringbone technique ceases at the west end of the nave, there is no evidence that building ceased abruptly at this point, to be resumed at a later

date. Dr. Fairweather speaks of 'straight joints'¹ and other features that to him were evident, but I failed to find them myself nor could I accept as such, those parts of the walling that he indicated to me. There is certainly a change in the building style, but it is very slight and may merely mean that the particular mason who still worked in the earlier fashion was not employed on the tower. Herringbone work is not solely used in the nave walls; much is random rubble. I think that a west tower was intended from the beginning. There may have been a slight—very slight—gap between the completion of the nave and the commencement of the tower, but certainly the lower part of the latter was in being when the church was consecrated by Gundulf.

2. Omitting for the present any consideration of the lower central part of this tower, i.e. that containing the doorway and window above it, it is clear that while there is a clean break in the building technique there is an equally obvious unity of design. The lower portion is very roughly worked out in rubble and tufa and the absence of ornament suggests that the west front was originally plastered all over and brought to a fair surface. There seem to be indications of a similar and practically contemporary procedure at S. Botolph's, Colchester,² and it would be a reasonable practice here at Malling. But whether this was indeed the case or no, about halfway up the tower there is a marked change and carefully coursed rag rubble and finely cut Caen stone continue the design, but in a superior technique. If then the lower part of the structure is to be considered Gundulfian of c. 1100–7, then the upper portion is at least half a century later, say about 1160–80. Hitherto this has been explained, when it has been explained at all, as due to the fire of 1190 which devastated town and abbey. This date is too late for the style of work, otherwise it might have been a reasonable solution, but I do not think the detail in question can be put so late as after 1190. Further the medieval chronicler dearly loved a fire to enlarge upon, but here at Malling a fire that ravaged the town would probably not touch the abbey nor would a conflagration at the abbey seriously affect the town. There is ample space between the two today and in the middle ages there was probably even more. This explanation will not therefore serve, but what it could have been is not so evident. The change is beyond question. Whether the tower was left unfinished or whether there were processes of decay that called for reparations it seems impossible to state. The topmost story and upper works have already been dealt with by Dr. Fairweather in his monograph, and as they raise no controversial points nor do they contribute to the elucidation of the original form and date of the tower they may be disregarded here.

3. Coming now to the central portion of the tower it must be patent to any observer that this part of the building is suspect throughout. The present doorway is impossible for any medieval period and the window above is clearly an insertion made up, like several others, of re-used material. The flanking niches with their pointed heads, that meant so much to Dr. Fairweather,¹ are fraudulent also. What has happened appears to be as follows. The part between the flanking turrets was originally set back about a foot but for some unknown reason and at some unknown date, but most likely during the Honeywood occupation, this space was filled up

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 186.

² *H.M.O.W. Guide*, p. 16 (1917).

flush with the face of the turrets, and then by means of two weatherings gradually brought back to the original wall face just below the arcading. It is remarkable that nearly all the engravings of this part of the abbey of the beginning of the 19th century show this set back—which probably had been obliterated at that time—but with the existing details of door, window, and niches. The draughtsman, evidently with some architectural training, felt that such an arrangement was intended. What was left of the great west door was taken away and the present opening substituted. But what is almost inexplicable is the fact that the two flanking niches were preserved and exist today as the photographs show (pl. xii). There can be no doubt whatever that this is a correct statement of what has occurred. The niches on their present faces show all kinds of miscellaneous building material including fairly modern roofing tiles, and the so-called pointed head is merely careless construction. But most important of all, the soffits of these niches and the inordinately thick door opening show definite cracks¹ just where the added material has been inserted, and it is evident that if the whole of this late addition were removed the original Romanesque west front would be revealed and the arch of the great west door, now only showing from the back, would combine with the two flanking niches to form a composition exactly analogous with that of Rochester. The task of removing these accretions would be considerable and one cannot say with any certitude that enough of the early work remains behind to justify such action. But it is clear now that the original elevation of Malling west front was of the same type as that fortunately remaining at the cathedral (pl. xiii c).

Other problems that arise from a consideration of the relation of this tower to the church proper include the question of levels and the nature of the wall that at present separates the nave from the ground floor of the tower. The former can be settled by presuming, as I have indicated on the plan, a short flight of descending steps, but the latter would demand the stripping of the plaster from the wall itself to determine how much, if any, is ancient and what was the means of communication employed.

Summing up the results of this examination it may then be said that Malling abbey church originally ended in an apse to which was added in the twelfth century a square-ended saint's or Lady Chapel which in its turn was replaced in the thirteenth century by a normal square-ended quire. The nave was never aisled, and if the transepts had any eastward projections their nature is not now ascertainable. There is slight evidence that there may have been a north quire aisle.

The Tower was part of the original scheme but was probably not completed till the end of the twelfth century and in its original design was similar to that of Rochester.

Nothing in the planning of the Abbey church therefore is abnormal and Gundulf appears as a normal builder conforming to the general principles of layout as then understood and practised.

¹ These cracks have now (1953) disappeared. has recently taken place and these (and others) A thorough repair of the west front of this tower have been filled.

NOTES

A hand-axe from Pen-y-lan, Cardiff.—The following from our Fellow, Mr. A. D. Lacaille, relates to the first Lower Palaeolithic implement of its kind so far known from south Wales. The specimen was sent to him for examination last year by Dr. H. N. Savory, F.S.A., of the National Museum of Wales, with the information that it had been found by Miss M. Remington, of the High School for Girls, Cardiff, who had recognized it as an artifact among stones cleared from plot no. 164 of the Llwyn-y-grant allotment on the south-east slope of Pen-y-lan Hill. The actual finding-place lies about the 50 ft. contour, some 50 yards north-east of the new Boys' Secondary School (National Grid 1-in. Sh. 154, 203786).

The implement is a pear-shaped hand-axe, 5·7 in. (0·1415 m.) long, 3·3 in. (0·0835 m.) wide, 2 in. (0·051 m.) thick, and boldly flaked over most of its surface (fig. 1). Although it is fashioned in material much less tractable than flint or chert, and is worn and polished of surface, with attrite ridges and flake-scars somewhat obscured probably by sand and wind, yet the artifact is recognizable as of Acheulian manufacture, and may be ranged with the general run of products of the middle phase.

The tool is an interesting addition to the list of palaeoliths from the Severn basin that has only recently been increased by the records of an assemblage from the lower reaches of the Bristol Avon,¹ and also to the small British group of Old Stone Age tools made in quartzitic material. Professor F. W. Shotton, University of Birmingham, who reported Acheulian quartzite hand-axes from Pleistocene deposits in the valley of the Warwickshire Avon, near Coventry,² has scrutinized a section from the Pen-y-lan implement. He rules out that the tool was hewn in a Bunter pebble such as might be found in the Midlands, because it exhibits residual fragments of the original outer surface of the block. This he believes was a subangular piece, and therefore not one of the round boulders of the Bunter. His microscope reveals that the rock is a fine sedimentary quartzite with a small amount of interstitial sericite. The most probable source is one of the beds of gannister that occur in the Millstone Grit and the Coal Measures of south Wales.

This hand-axe may be dealt with as one of these Lower Palaeolithic implements that from time to time have been picked up on the ground or have turned up as quite new finds in unexpected circumstances. Such objects have of course given rise occasionally to speculation and controversy, but most have eventually been placed in the Old Stone Age sequence. Particularly has this been so with relics found in localities in or near regions where palaeoliths have been recovered in satisfactorily explicable conditions. Thus, it now seems after several years of study that Palaeolithic artifacts surface-found and extracted from Pleistocene beds in the lower reaches of the Bristol Avon can be linked, and that they serve for purposes of comparison and correlation. They ought also to prove useful when they come to be examined with various palaeoliths from the western and south-western counties, and, as is hoped, with fresh discoveries from other parts of the Severn drainage. Having these considerations in mind after close inspection of the ground and attentive study of the artifacts, the writer would rank the Pen-y-lan hand-axe as contemporary with the principal group of palaeoliths from the lower reaches of the Bristol river.

The ascription on typology of the great majority of the palaeoliths from around Bristol to Middle Acheulian workmanship is well supported by regional Pleistocene geology and by the evidence provided in the Thames basin by deposits of the same period. All these indicate that the Middle Acheulian specimens are assignable to the Great or 'Acheulian' Interglacial which

¹ A. D. Lacaille, 'Palaeoliths from the Lower Reaches of the Bristol Avon', *supra*, pp. 1-27. in *Proc. Prehist. Soc. East Anglia*, vol. vi, 1930, pp. 174-81.

² 'Palaeolithic Implements found near Coventry', in *Proc. Prehist. Soc. East Anglia*, vol. vi, 1930, pp. 174-81.

has been correlated with the Mindel-Riss interglacial period of Alpine chronology. Added to these discoveries there are a few palaeoliths from places in the Severn basin upstream from the mouth of the Bristol Avon. Consisting of bifaces found in Gloucestershire,¹ near Worcester,² and in Warwickshire,³ they show that Lower Palaeolithic man must have pushed far indeed beyond the classic areas where the products of Middle Acheulian industry have been recovered in such numbers. The finding of traces of this diffusion ought not, however, to be regarded as surprising. For the interglacial period to which they belong was of immense duration. Genial climatic conditions must therefore have lasted so long that the main Acheulian facies developed strongly and had probably spread widely by the time the glaciers waxed once more and the ice-sheets readvanced. This renewed onset of cold is referable to the complex of movements which included that affecting the Severn area called the Main Irish Sea Glaciation, and held to be the correlative of the Riss Glacial Period of Penck's and Brückner's Alpine system. Tjaele-fan or solifluxion gravels attributable to this episode of the Atlantic side of the country and to concomitant movements have yielded derived Palaeolithic bifacial and flake-tools of conventional Middle Acheulian types at Barnwood, Glos.,⁴ in the valley of the Bristol Avon,⁵ and in the Chilterns⁶ in the basin of the Thames.

The Llwyn-y-grant allotments are cultivated on the east side of the terrace which, from the highway between Roath and Rumney, is very clearly seen rising above the wide alluvial plain. A large part of Cardiff is actually built upon the terrace shown on the Geological Survey maps as a patch stretching from the river Rhymney on the east and the river Taff on the west. The plot where Miss Remington found the quartzite hand-axe lies a mile and a half north-west of the nearest point on the slope, opposite the place indicated by the submarine contours on the map as the junction of the mouth of the Severn with the Bristol Channel. No real section has been seen in the terrace at Pen-y-lan, but scrutiny and study show that the terrain here compares closely with that on the English side of the Severn estuary to the east. Particularly does this appear in the lower reaches of the Bristol Avon where so many Palaeolithic implements have been collected. Resemblance is well marked where the ground has not been overbuilt, especially on the left or Somerset bank around Chapel Pill Farm in Abbots Leigh parish.

The topographic likeness of the two districts, each on its own side of the great estuary of the Severn, is due to similarity of situation, to which has to be added the fact that, although neither was actually overridden by the Pleistocene ice-sheets, both were affected in much the same way by their fluctuations. These brought about long periods of intense cold and of great thaws, which gave rise to solifluxion. The product of that phenomenon of our periglacial regions is the stony head resting upon the terrace at Pen-y-lan and upon the equivalent formation in the lower reaches of the Bristol Avon. While numerous palaeoliths have been taken at no great depth from the deposit itself near Bristol, very many more have been found on the surface. This they have reached by natural agencies or by the agricultural operations of centuries. With rare exceptions the Palaeolithic implements from the Bristol district are manufactured in the Warminster chert which constitutes the bulk of the stony materials incorporated in the head or scattered over the surface. Often fractured angularly, the stones exhibit the same variants of surface change, alteration of the crust, and diversity of injuries as do the palaeoliths. Such signs show to what rough treatment the artifacts and unwrought stones were subjected by solifluxion.

¹ M. C. Burkitt, 'A Gloucester Palaeolith', in *Antiq. Journ.*, vol. i, 1921, p. 234; Mrs. E. M. Clifford, 'A Prehistoric and Roman Site at Barnwood, near Gloucester', in *Trans. Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc.*, vol. liii, 1930, pp. 308-11, and 'A Palaeolith found near Gloucester', in *Antiq. Journ.*, vol. xvi, 1936, p. 91.

² *A Guide to Antiquities of the Stone Age*, British Museum, 1926, p. 10. ³ Shotton, *op. cit.*

⁴ Burkitt and Clifford, *supra*.

⁵ Lacaille, *supra*.

⁶ W. J. Arkell, 'Palaeoliths from the Wallingford Fan-Gravels', in *Oxonienzia*, vol. viii/ix, 1945, offprint, pp. 14 and 16.

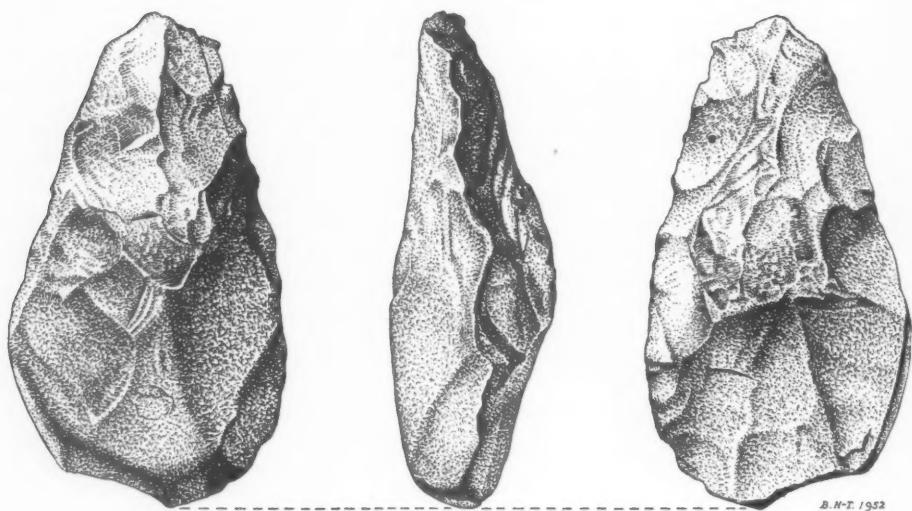


FIG. 1. Hand-axe of quartzite from Pen-y-lan, Cardiff. (1)

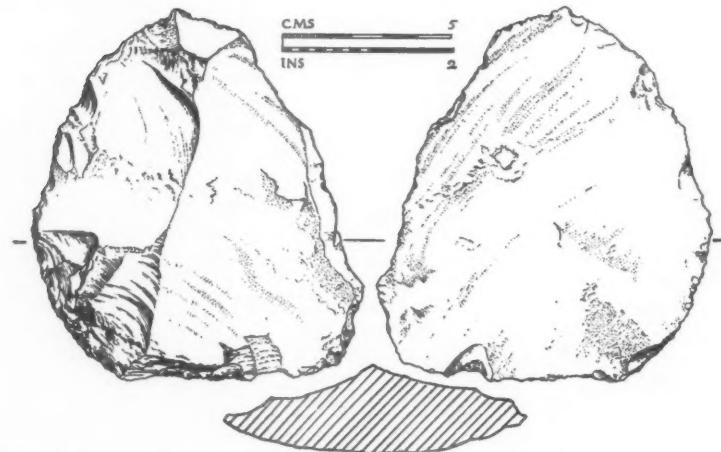


FIG. 2. Flake-implement of chert from Paviland Cave, Gower. (After Grimes with acknowledgements to the National Museum of Wales.) (1)

On the Welsh side all this appears at Pen-y-lan, but instead of the chert of west Wiltshire there occur the quartzitic rocks of the region. These are abundantly represented by the stones which the allotment holders have gleaned from, or have brought by digging to the surface of, their plots, and of which many are of course strewn over the gardens or are exposed in solifluxion beds in a few shallow openings. Among them, cobbles of the same variety of quartzite as the palaeolith

from plot 164 are common. In this regard, the writer, who collected a quantity of lumps, was interested to observe that several of those composed of this very quartzite with a similar proportion of sericite inclusions exhibited the same degree of external alteration as does the tool. The most remarkable are relatively large examples broken across their long axis. In polish and worn appearance the surface of their bold wide scars matches much of the surrounding cortex, which indicates too that, in respect of ill usage in a deposit and exposure to natural agencies, such stones may be associated with the Acheulian hand-axe that is the object of this notice. Taking into account these features and analogies as well as the fact that this implement is manufactured in a material that occurs natively at no great distance from the finding-place of the finished article, one feels that careful search in the same area at Pen-y-lan will be repaid by further discoveries of palaeoliths. Such finds must proclaim yet again that man in the early stages of his cultural development, by migrating into territory on the north side of the Severn, had spread far more widely than was thought formerly. That the present addition to the map showing the distribution of Lower Palaeolithic industrial relics involves south Wales lends a peculiar interest to the find on which Miss Remington deserves our congratulations.

When it is realized what was the length of the interglacial period during which the Acheulian industries developed so strongly, and during which their exponents devised new techniques and types, it becomes tempting to conjecture that man in a stage of this culture pushed considerably beyond the locality where Cardiff stands today. In this connexion therefore one thinks of such objects as the large flake-implement of chert (fig. 2), like that of Warminster and conceivably imported, described as of Mousterian aspect from Paviland Cave in Gower,¹ a part of Wales in which there have been found remains of a fauna consistent with the rise and growth of the phases of developed Acheulian culture. Though not known to have been found stratified, this artifact nevertheless suggests a link with the more advanced facies of the Bristol district. Here, as in the Thames valley, a nascent Levalloisian technique is expressed in certain flakes and cores associated with hand-axes.

A Castor Ware vessel from York.—Mr. N. Mitchelson sends the following note:—I am indebted to Mr. G. F. Willmot, F.S.A., Keeper of the Yorkshire Museum, for permission to publish the piece of Castor Ware which is the subject of this note. No clue to its provenance is given in the museum records, but it is safe to assume that it was found in York or the immediate neighbourhood. It appears to have been forgotten, but was rediscovered a short time ago packed with a quantity of miscellaneous Roman pottery labelled 'York Railway Station', and so it is possible that it formed part of the mass of Roman material found when the first station was built on the south side of the river Ouse at York in the 1840's.

The fragment consists of four conjoined fragments clipped together with wire pins fastened through holes drilled in the walls of the vessel. Of the rim less than half survives, and the fragment is 2·5 in. deep at the most, this representing rather more than a third of the original depth of the vessel. It had an external diameter at the flatly turned over rim of 3·65 in. Below the rim it expands rapidly into what must have been a bulbous body which probably measured about 5·5 in. at its greatest diameter. The height of the complete vessel would be about 7 in. Its surface is glossy metallic bronze in colour, and the paste, which is very thin (0·1 in. and less) and very hard, is pale biscuit-coloured. The vessel is very well made, and undoubtedly belongs to the best period of the Castor kilns and may be assigned to the late second century, contemporary with

¹ W. F. Grimes, *Guide to the Collection illustrating the Prehistory of Wales*, Cardiff, published by the National Museum of Wales and by the Press Board of the University of Wales, 1939, pp. 2-3, and fig. 2.

the so-called Hunt Cups. The upper springing of one handle survives, the complete vessel no doubt having a pair, a somewhat unusual feature in Castor Ware.

Two decorative motifs survive: a fine mask of Pan and a pine-cone (pl. xv). Their position would suggest that originally six of these surrounded the vessel, three on each side, between the handles. It is of course impossible to say whether the other four suggested motifs were the same as those remaining, but probability would suggest that the Pan mask and the pine-cone were repeated alternately. The pine-cone measures 1·8 in. from top to bottom and 1 in. across the widest part. A very small part of a stalk survives, but as this is broken it is not possible to say how long it was originally. No attempt has been made by the potter to produce an exact copy of a pine-cone, the effect being given by diagonal incisions from left and right which divide the cone into lozenge-shaped sections. The mask of Pan measures 1·7 in. from the crown of the head to the broken tip of the beard; originally it may have been 2 in. long. It is extremely well modelled. The mask is a full, fleshy face framed in a border of tightly curled hair, beard, and moustache. Horns spring from between the strongly marked eyebrows. The nose is broad and straight with widely distended nostrils, and the mouth full and curved. The face as a whole is strongly sensual, and at the same time baleful and evil. This head is in miniature a notable product of Roman provincial art. It has individuality and remarkable vigour, and although it is clearly based on a classical model, has a spirit of its own which is barbaric; but breaks through the conventions of Roman art.¹

Has the vessel any special significance? It may be that the potter who made it tired of the more usual patterns of his wares, and being an individualist with a touch of genius, decided to make something different. But the use of the mask of Pan and the pine- or fir-cone together makes this seem unlikely. The two decorative motifs together are too significant, both of them being symbols of fertility in animals and plants.

The vessel in fact would appear to be part of the equipment used in some religious cult which sought the blessing of the gods on fields, animals, and perhaps families too, so that they would flourish.

There are the following possibilities to consider:

1. That our vessel carries a symbolic representation of the Pan-Pitys myth.²
2. That Pan and his favourite pine-tree were so absorbed in the Roman cult of Faunus that it was no longer possible to separate them, and so the equation Pan plus pine-tree equals Faunus the Roman vegetation god may be formulated.
3. That the pine-cone represents Attis who may have been linked especially in an outlying province with Pan-Faunus in a Spring festival of rebirth.

At present it does not seem possible to say more than that we are left with the conclusion that our vessel was used ritually in some festival, probably of the Spring equinox whose rites centred about the reawakening and growth of life after the dead period of winter.

Some fragmentary flan-moulds in the Silchester Collection at Reading Museum.—Mr. George C. Boon contributed the following:—The eight fragments discussed below (pl. xvi) were discovered recently in drawers devoted to miscellanea from the Silchester excavations of 1890–1909. Similar pieces of rectangular, pitted pottery slabs, of unknown original dimensions, have been found at Camulodunum, and are explained as moulds for casting the flans to serve the bronze coinage of Cunobelinus.³ Close provenance can be specified for only two of the Silchester

¹ Miss M. V. Taylor, F.S.A., kindly informs me that a very small fragment of a probably similar vessel was found in the villa at North Leigh, Oxon. It is now in the Ashmolean Museum.

² *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, articles 'Attis', 'Cybele', 'Faunus', 'Pan', 'Pitys'.

³ *Camulodunum Report*, 1947, pp. 129–133, pl. xvi.



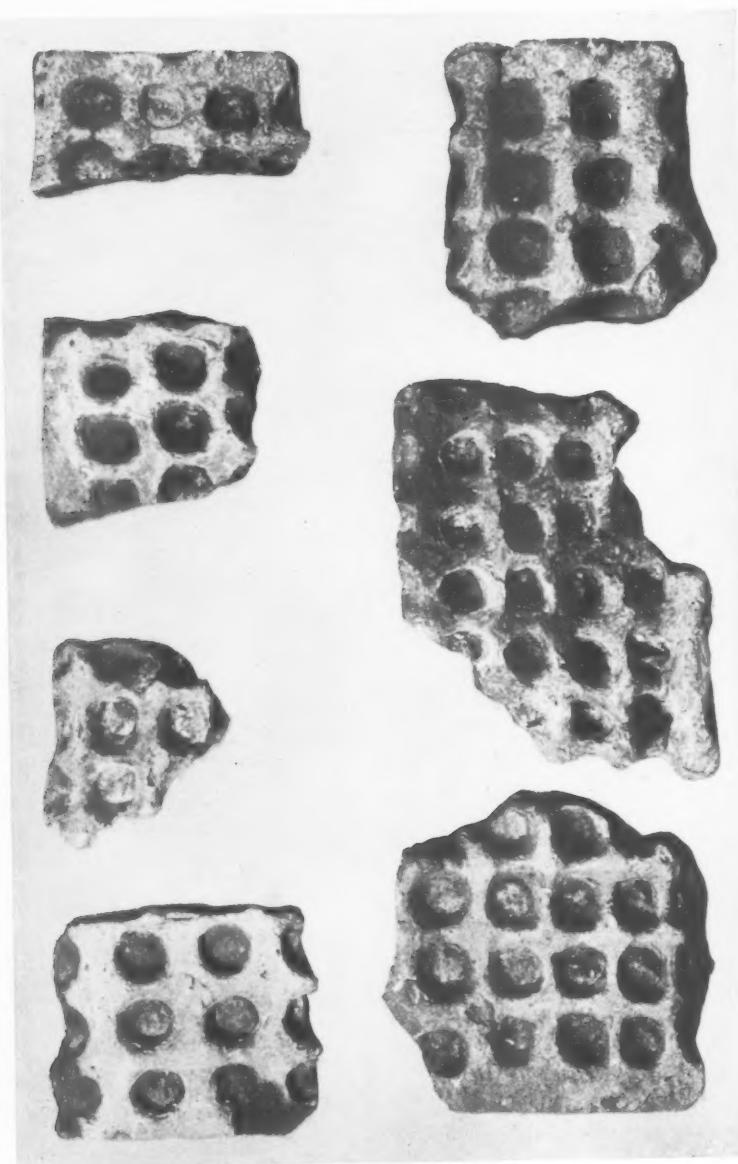
Photo by R. H. Hayes

a. Mask of Pan; detail of a Castor ware vessel from York (3)



Photo by R. H. Hayes

b. A Castor ware vessel from York (1)



Fragments of pottery flan-moulds from Silchester. (3)

specimens. One came from Insula II, immediately north-west of the insula containing the Forum-Basilica. The other occurred amongst material from one of two rubbish-pits discovered outside the West Gate in 1909.¹ Neither these nor any of the other fragments are mentioned in the reports of the Silchester Excavation Committee.

The fabric of the moulds is a hard, gritty clay containing sparse flecks of mica and traces of burnt vegetable matter. All pieces have been excessively burnt to a light grey externally and a dark grey within. The slabs vary in thickness between 0·4 and 0·8 in. The pits have been fairly regularly stamped in rows, and would have covered the entire surface of the slabs except for a narrow border. The pits are circular to squarish at the mouth² and 0·35 to 0·45 in. across. They taper slightly over a depth of 0·25 to 0·5 in., and in most cases have flat or convex bottoms. In short, the fragments correspond closely to those found at Camulodunum.

Where, however, the Silchester specimens appear to differ from the latter³ is in the provision of a kind of runnel, formed by depressing the walls of contiguous pits into a U- or V-shape, deep or shallow, by means of which pits seem to have been interconnected. Though in part possibly due to the movement of the clay as the tool was impressed to make neighbouring pits, in some cases the depth of this runnel seems to proclaim its artificial origin.⁴

It was decided to spare only one fragment for analysis, but three more were examined spectrographically. From the analysed specimen 36 grammes of material were extracted, which yielded 7·3 mg. of silver and 5·9 mg. of copper. A preliminary spectrograph disclosed a trace of gold in addition to the above metals. Two of the specimens examined under the spectrograph showed evidence of use, inasmuch as samples taken from their surfaces revealed traces of copper, silver, and lead in excess of those present in the body material. The third specimen produced no such evidence.⁵

Here, then, is further clear evidence that moulds of this sort were used for metal casting, and indeed one can hardly call into question the explanation of their specific metallurgical purpose as set out in the *Camulodunum Report*. The evidence there summed up indicates a generally, if not necessarily exclusively, pre-Conquest date for the moulds, and thus the Silchester examples would be another testimony, if any were needed, of the existence of an important pre-Roman settlement.

The one certain coinage of Calleva, of Eppillus, *Rex Callevae* (c. A.D. 5-10),⁶ immediately springs to mind in connexion with the moulds. The coins of Eppillus at Calleva, however, besides being extremely rare,⁷ are of two varieties only, gold quarter-staters and silver, both of which are so small that it is unlikely that they could have been struck on flans prepared from the extant moulds.⁸ The analysis and spectrography too, by the inclusion of base metals, militate against the possibility.

It is indeed difficult to suggest with much plausibility what coins were struck from flans prepared in our moulds. The single analysed specimen strongly suggests that they would be of the bad billon so extensively used for some of the Ancient British coinage, a contention supported by the spectrography of the other specimens. That separate silver and copper flans may have been made in the same moulds seems unlikely, but we have no evidence that such a procedure was out of the question. It should perhaps be realized also that there are theoretically several

¹ *Archaeologia*, lxii, 326. Omitted on sections, 320, fig. 3.

² Such deviations from a cylindrical shape would be due to the displacement of the clay as successive pits were stamped.

³ Mr. M. R. Hull, F.S.A., has kindly checked this point for me.

⁴ Experiments with plasticine showed that slight depressions between pits were normal and to be ex-

pected.

⁵ I am indebted to Dr. H. J. Plenderleith, F.S.A., Dr. A. A. Moss, and Mr. H. Barton of the British Museum Research Laboratory for these findings.

⁶ Allen, *Archaeologia*, xc, 7-8, pl. 1, 14, 15.

⁷ Four specimens known according to Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 8; five, with a possible sixth, according to Mack, *Coinage of Ancient Britain*, 1953, p. 35.

⁸ About 16 and 18 grains respectively.

ways in which the ratios of metals absorbed by a mould and those of a parent alloy might differ.¹ Accordingly, if attempt were made to discover by analysis coins which may have come from flans moulded in these fragments, it would seem dangerous to press a precise opinion of the requisite composition of such specimens from data supplied by the moulds. Metals present in an alloy, however, might reasonably be expected to leave some trace in the mould. It is hence worthy of notice that the metal tin is entirely absent from the four mould fragments which have been examined. Twenty-nine mould fragments from Camulodunum were examined spectrographically, and of these no fewer than twenty-four were found to contain tin. Moulds containing copper and silver only were three in number. Those containing copper, silver, and tin were fifteen; some of these also contained lead or zinc. Eleven specimens had no silver.² The trace of gold recorded by the spectrograph in one of the Silchester fragments is probably to be explained by its being an impurity of one of the other metals.

It will be remembered that one mould-fragment was found in one of two rubbish-pits at the West Gate in 1909. The material from these was kept still segregated at the museum in its original bags, but unfortunately has been at some time so inextricably confused that it remains impossible to say which pit actually held the fragment. But, as St. J. Hope remarked in his final report, the pits would presumably antedate the erection of the inner defences.³ Both indeed came to light during the clearing of the inner ditch—the ditch which Mrs. Cotton's excavations have proved to belong to an Antonine rampart underlying the backing mound of the Severan stone wall.⁴ One of the pits, and possibly the other, appeared only when the ditch infilling had been removed and the side of the ditch exposed⁵—in other words, the ditch had cut into a pre-existing pit. The contents of both pits⁶ cover broadly the same period. Both contained pottery of the earliest type yet recognized in a stratified deposit at Calleva⁷—coarse, bead-rim bowls, butt-beaker shards, etc., in general of a pronounced native and pre-Roman facies. Both also contain Roman pottery, ranging from Claudian to Flavian times and well into the second century. There are also a few fourth-century pieces which must have come from superficial deposits. It thus seems to be clear that the mould-fragment must have been cleared out together with a quantity of early rubbish, with which it had been lying, at some time in the middle of the second century. The seven other fragments were apparently scattered over the area of the city. Perhaps the main deposit of moulds from the British mint at Silchester yet awaits discovery.⁸

The Ancient British coins found at Silchester.—Mr. George C. Boon contributes the following: These have never been published *in extenso*. Since W. A. Seaby published the Early British coins of Berkshire and included in his list those found at Silchester,⁹ several fresh discoveries have been made among the Silchester coins both at Reading Museum and at Stratfield Saye House.

¹ Mr. H. Barton.

² *Camulodunum Report*, p. 132.

³ *Archaeologia*, lxii, 324.

⁴ *Ibid.* xcii, 129–130. ⁵ *Ibid.* lxii, 326.

⁶ List of main finds, *ibid.* lxii, 326. The two whole pots, as *May*, 1916, pl. LXVIII, 144, and as pl. LXXVIII, 6.

⁷ *Archaeologia*, xcii, 152–6, fig. 11, pl. XXXVII b.

⁸ As remarked above, the dating to be assigned to moulds of this type appears to be almost certainly an exclusively pre-Roman. But is it quite impossible that the use of a traditional method of making flans should have been continued into the early Roman period? Ancient British coins were current down

to the second century in the Cranborne-Hengistbury region, and elsewhere seem to have been in use together with Roman issues (Allen, *op. cit.* 37; Sutherland, R.-B. *Imitations of Bronze Coins of Claudius I*, 1935, 11, fn. 18). This state of affairs was no doubt occasioned by a dearth of Roman small change in the years immediately following the initial conquest, as attested by the multitude of copies of Claudian *asses* which exist. Among the client Iceni of Claudian times, the flan-moulding process appears to have been still in use (*Antiq. Journ.* xli, 50, fig. 8c).

⁹ *Berks. Arch. Journ.* xlii (1938), 89 ff.; xliii (1939), 41 ff.

His Grace the Duke of Wellington, F.S.A., has now kindly deposited all the latter,¹ with the exception of no. 1 below, with the main part of his Silchester Collection at Reading Museum.

Evans: *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, 1864, suppl. 1890. Mack: *The Coinage of Ancient Britain*, 1953. Allen: 'The Belgic Dynasties of Britain and their Coins,' *Archaeologia*, xc. MS: Mill Stephenson's list in Reading Museum. S, SS, Seaby's list.

DVROTRIGES

1. **A** *Obo.* Design from head R.

83·6 gr. *Rev.* Disintegrated horse L. 12 dots above, dot and crescent below. Exergual line and zig-zag with dots in its angles.

Cf. Evans, B, 1-6; F, 1-3—a transitional type. Paralleled by coins of the Chute hoard of 1927, *Num. Chron.*⁵ vii, 374, which average 95 gr. Distribution wide: v. Brooke, *Antiquity*, 1933, 273, map iv. Lightness of Silchester coin may be due to a later date and/or the fact that the obverse die was badly split and may have sheared off some of the flan. Chute specimens are very base—one contained 37·92 per cent. Au, 40·06 per cent. Ar, 22·02 per cent. Cu. The Silchester specimen would be similarly alloyed. When found it was encrusted with a horny coating. Late 1 B.C., cf. Allen, 36, fn. Bought by the 2nd Duke from the finder (*Addition to Joyce's Journal*, 14 April 1882). Now at Stratfield Saye House.²

2. **A** *Obo.* Design from head R.

Rev. Disintegrated horse L. Dots above, dot and crescent below.
Cf. Evans, F, 2; G, 5-6. Hengistbury type. Very base. MS 7, S 3.

3. **Æ** Similar. Cf. Evans, G, 5-6. MS 6, S 2.

4. **Æ** As above. Found at the S. Gate or in the ditch outside it in 1873. (Joyce, *Journal of the Excavations at Silchester*, sub 13 June 1873.) MS, SS 4.

CATVVELLAVNI

TASCIOVANUS, c. 20 B.C.—A.D. 10

5. **Æ** *Obo.* [V] Bearded head R.

Rev. [T]A[S] Hippocamp L.
Cf. Evans, VII, 11.

CUNOBELINUS, c. A.D. 10-40

6. **Æ** *Obo.* Obliterated.

Rev. CVN[O] Horse R. Dot between legs and tail. Dot (and palm?) above.
Cf. Evans, IX, 5 in gold; cf. XIII, 3. MS 3, S 9.

7. **Æ** *Obo.* CA M[V]. Ear of barley.

Rev. CVNO. Horse R. Star and palm above.
Cf. Evans, IX, 5, etc. (in gold), cf. XIII, 3. A common type of stater copy, perhaps once plated. MS 2, S 7.

8. **Æ** *Obo.* CA M[V]. Ear of barley.

Rev. As above.
Cf. Evans, IX, 5, etc.; Mack, 211. Copy of stater. MS 1, S 8.

¹ Nos. 4, 5, 10, 15, 16, 19—including the four published by Seaby as coming from Silchester or Stratfield Saye, and which were in fact found at Silchester in the excavations of Rev. J. G. Joyce.

² I am indebted to Dr. Sutherland for examining this coin for me and contributing the information given above.

9. **Æ** *Obo.* [CVNOB] ELI[NVS]. Head in helmet R.
Rev. [TASCHIOVANII F] retr. Boar R.
 Cf. Evans, XII, 2. Found in pit A. 1 near the North Wall, 1938. *Archaeologia*, xcii, 147.
 S 13.

10. **Æ** *Obo.* CV[NOB]. Horseman with poised javelin R.
Rev. [TASCHIO]VANTIS. Soldier stg. facing, looking L, with spear and shield.
 Cf. Evans, XII, 3.

11. **Æ** Same type. Spoil mounds of Forum excavation.

EPATICCUS, c. A.D. 25-35

12. **AR** *Obo.* [EPATI] Head of Hercules in lion-skin R.
 plated *Rev.* Eagle stg. on serpent, wings outspread.
 Cf. Evans, VIII, 13. MS 4, S 10. (When Seaby wrote his paper, this coin was lost.)

DOBVNNI

13. **A** *Obo.* Obliterated.
 plated *Rev.* Disintegrated horse R. Wheel below. Arms above. Border of dots visible at right-hand side.
 Cf. Evans, C, 4 (rather than B, 9 or I, 10: the dots appear a distinguishing feature of the Dobunnic coin compared with the Atrebatic or Regnani). Found in 1901. *Archaeologia*, lviii, 32. MS 5, S 1.

TRINOVANTES

14. **Æ** *Obo.* Beardless head L.
Rev. Horse L. Dot in circle below. Large die flaw above.
 Cf. Evans, N, 10. MS 9, S 6.

BRIGANTES

15. **A** *Obo.* Design derived from head R.
 plated *Rev.* Disintegrated horse L.
 Cf. Evans, xvii, 9-12. Provenance as 4. MS, SS 2.

GAULISH

16. **Æ** *Obo.* Bucranium. Curvilinear motifs above, left, and right.
Rev. Bear R., devouring snake.
 Cf. Muret-de la Tour 8351, *Lingones*. Found alongside a wall of House 1, Insula XXXIV in 1874. (Joyce, *Journal*, sub 6 July 1874.) MS, SS 1.
 17. **Æ** *Obo.* Head bound with a fillet, R.
Rev. GERMANVS [INDVT] ILL [I L]. Bull L.
 Cf. Muret-de la Tour 9248, *Treveri* or *Leuci*. Type copies a Lugdunum issue of Augustus, c. 15-10 B.C. Three of these coins were found at Camulodunum, *Report*, p. 142, two in contexts of c. A.D. 49-61. MS, S 12.

UNCERTAIN BRITISH

18. **ST** A fragment only, as Evans, pl. H. MS 10, S 4.
 19. **Æ** *Obo.* Boar R. Two (or three) dots over, one below.
Rev. Horseman L, left hand on rein, right hand upraised (holding javelin?). Exergual wavy line, dot in ring in right field, rings in field.
 Not in Evans or Mack. Diam. 14 mm., weight 38.2 gr. Perhaps akin to Kentish types as Evans, N, 9. Provenance as 4 above.

20. Æ *Obv.* Obliterated; but traces of ? letters or ? hair at edge.
Rev. Horse R. Wheel above. Crescent below.
 Not in Evans or Mack. Diam. 16 mm., weight 36.5 gr. Copy of a stater? S 11.

21. Æ *Obv.* Design from head (?)
Rev. Horse (?)
 The type is quite uncertain. Mill Stephenson compares Evans, G, 7; Seaby, C, 13, etc.
 But the coin is not sufficiently close to either, or to any other. Diam. 14 mm., weight 18.6 gr.
 MS 8, S 5.

22. $\text{Æ}?$ Illegible. A scyphate disc, 12 mm. diam., weight about 7 gr. Could be base silver. Forum
 spoil.

23. Flan, of base silver? Diam. 20 mm., weight 61.2 gr. The surface bears no designs and is
 rough.

The absence from this list of any coins referable to the Atrebates themselves is at first sight worthy of comment. It should perhaps be remembered, however, that the coinage of the Atrebatian princes (Commius, Tincommius, Eppillus, Verica) is not known to have included bronze coins. The extraneous bronze making up a considerable proportion of this list may therefore have been introduced to supply necessary small change. The coinage of Verica included silver minimi, but only one has apparently been found in Berkshire (Mack, 132). Several coins of the Atrebatian princes have been found in the neighbourhood of Silchester (Seaby, *op. cit.*, and Mack, 60).

The Rudston fibulae.—Mr. E. J. W. Hildyard, F.S.A., sends the following note: The three fibulae here figured, found in the Roman villa at Rudston (E. Yorks.) have already been published,¹ but it is felt that a fresh appraisal might be worth while for two reasons. First, because the original drawings, while adequate enough to illustrate the descriptions, do not do justice to the artistic possibilities of three exceptionally fine and perfect specimens or enable the detail to be studied. Secondly, it seems possible to make a few fresh points in the description.

No. 1 (93). Found in the villa house in 1934. Artistically the most satisfactory of the three, it is otherwise the least remarkable. A pleasing, rather small example of the trumpet fibula, it exhibits both early and late features of detail. Under the former can be put the spring and wire head loop and the very careful finish; to the latter can be assigned the absence of enamel² and the fact that the acanthus and central moulding are not carried round the bow. In fact, however, the back of the bow is not merely flat, there being three ribs corresponding to the central moulding (which is thus D-shaped in section) and the two rows of acanthus leaves. Nevertheless, this is a matter of finish rather than design, so that the brooch can be put into Collingwood's sub-type R iv.

The other two brooches were found, within a few inches of each other, in 1936 in an indeterminate outbuilding of the villa.

No. 2 (95). Winged bow or 'Hod Hill' brooch (Collingwood Group P, Camulodunum Type XVIII. B). This brooch is notable for being an unusually elaborate and well-finished specimen

¹ *Y.A.J.*, Part 131 (1937), pp. 336-7.

² It seems doubtful whether enamel is really an early feature. From reference matter immediately available I have noted the following trumpet fibulae divided into sub-types, the figures in parentheses

giving the numbers with enamel: 117 examples from 55 sites R i, 17 (4); R ii, 24 (9); R iii, 13 (3); R iv, 25 (5); doubtful 26; imitations with modified trumpet, 12 (6).



of the type, but even more so for being, as Dr. Steer pointed out, 'the most northerly example found in Britain'. He goes on to say: 'Its occurrence at Rudston has no chronological significance since it is found in immediate association with a typical second-century brooch', and cites it as an instance of the long life of a personal ornament. This view, I find, is supported by signs that the catchplate had undergone repairs. Nevertheless, it does tell against Collingwood's view that 'the



type did not last much longer than the reign of Claudius'. They are too common and too widely distributed to make it likely that all specimens were imported within a dozen years. Hawkes and Hull give it a life 'lasting to the end of Nero's reign',¹ and they quote two specimens from Lincoln and one from Margidunum to show that the type is not confined to southern England. This is confirmed by the presence of two specimens at South Ferriby² and several at Broxtowe,³ and there is one of the closely allied type of cross-ribbed bow (Collingwood Group O) from Wetherby.⁴ The truth must be that such a popular type was sufficiently numerous to survive in use, if not in manufacture, into Flavian times or even later.

No. 3 (94). This is an unusually large and quite perfect specimen of the head stud brooch (Collingwood Group Q), but it has unusual features in the combination of wire head loop with hinged pin and the absence of enamel, except in the stud.

¹ *Camulodunum*, p. 323.

² *Hull Museum Publications*, no. 39 (1907), pl. XXV, 10 and 11.

³ *Thoroton Society, Excavation Section, Third Annual Report*, 1938, pls. II and IIa.

⁴ *Y.A.J.*, Part 122 (1933).

For comparative material I have referred to 54 examples of the head stud brooch from 30 sites, enough to give a representative sample.¹ Of these, 11 have spring and wire loop, 29 hinged pin and cast loop, 9 no head loop, and only 4 the hinged pin and wire loop. These are: 1 from London² and 3 from Richborough.³ The absence of enamel on the bow is unusual in the head stud type and only 13 (7 of these at Traprain) of the 54 specimens lack it. It is not present on the well-known Honley prototype⁴ nor on a few obviously early examples such as 1 at Newstead⁵ and 1 at Richborough,⁶ both lacking a head loop, and an unpublished example at Colchester. But it is also missing on a few equally obviously late and degenerate examples such as 3 from Richborough.⁷ What, therefore, seems exceptional about the Rudston brooch is that, though lacking enamel on the bow, it is neither typologically early nor late; it is mature but not degenerate. The omission seems to me deliberate, for an interesting reason. A glance at the front view shows the triple-rib motif used (horizontally) on both head-loop ring and foot. But, not content with this, the maker repeated the motif on the bow, the ribs in this case being vertical, thus dividing the two transverse series at head and foot. On two of the Richborough brooches already cited (nos. 34 and 35) the enamel panels on the bow are repeated on the head-loop ring, but the use of this simple but effective device of the thrice-repeated triple-rib motif seems to be a unique example of minor artistic composition.

A late- or sub-Roman buckle-plate from College Wood, near Winchester.—Mr. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, Secretary, contributes the following:—The bronze buckle-plate, pl. xvii b, was scraped up by rabbits on one of the three Roman sites at College Wood, Popham, Hants. College Wood is 9½ miles north-north-east of Winchester along the Roman road to Silchester, and about a mile off the road to the south and east.⁸ It was found in 1932 by Dr. M. W. Bird, who has presented it to the British Museum (1953, 7-9, 1). The site from which the buckle came is in a valley outside College Wood to the west. It produced the foundations of a small square-tiled building, pottery fragments, a polished piece of Purbeck stone, and a coin of Constantine (306-37). The buckle-plate is 5.3 cm. long and 2.1 cm. wide. It was made from a strip of thin bronze about 1.1 cm. in length and cut to the width required for the buckle-plate (2.1 cm.). To make the buckle-plate this strip was folded back on itself, pieces were cut out of the bend of the metal to give shoulders and to provide an opening for the tongue and a hinge for the bar of the buckle-loop; and after the insertion of the buckle-loop and belt-end, the two ends of the folded strip were held together with a pair of rivets. The decoration consists of a finely punched border of short transverse lines along one edge, and, down the middle of the buckle-plate, three incised diamonds, lightly cross-hatched, with small punched circles in pairs at each apex. The buckle-plate is rather crudely made. The fact that there is a border down one edge only (whereas the decoration of other buckle-plates of the same group is carefully balanced) and that the diamonds, though in

¹ Collingwood (*Archaeologia*, lxxx, 56) states that the head stud brooches 'were easier to make [than the trumpet] and at least equally popular', but the numbers I have been able to find, 54 against 117, confirm my own impression that the one type is about half as common as the other. Of the 30 sites, only Traprain, Newstead, and Richborough have more than 3 specimens, but there is a fine series [unpublished] in Aldborough Museum.

² B.M. Guide (edition of 1922), fig. 63.

³ Richborough IV, nos. 34 and 35.

⁴ *Huddersfield in Roman Times*, fig. 2a.

⁵ Pl. LXXXV, no. 3.

⁶ Richborough IV, no. 33.

⁷ *Ibid.*, nos. 36 and 37. 36 is one of a pair.

⁸ Listed in *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club*, xv, 1942, 240, items 9, 10, and 11. The site from which the buckle came is no. 10. One of the sites, apparently no. 11, is also referred to in the *Victoria County History, Hampshire*, i, 306. I am grateful to Mr. F. C. Cottrill for these references.

line with the buckle-tongue, are not central on the plate, suggests that it may have been made from a piece of metal already decorated and originally serving another purpose. One of the loops that held the buckle (the broader of the two), after having been wrenched almost in two, had been roughly repaired by running a fresh strip of bronze round the torn loop and riveting it across through the buckle-plate. This also suggests a background where such humble objects were valuable and difficult to come by or to replace, and agrees well enough with the date of the buckle-plate, which should be early in the first half of the fifth century A.D. A very close parallel in the method of manufacture, the ribbon-like form of the plate, the style of decoration, and even the manner of repair is the buckle in the well-known early grave-finds from Dyke Hills, Dorchester on Thames, none of the contents of which need have been made after A.D. 400.¹ The loop of the College Wood buckle was in all probability of the same distinctive type as that of the Dyke Hills buckle, of zoomorphic character and with a pair of small outward-facing horses' heads springing from the affronted dolphin or animal heads on either side of the tongue. Through the Dyke Hills buckle the College Wood plate is seen to represent another specimen of a distinctive group, other examples of which are the Stanwick buckle,² whose long ribbon-plate carries a design of a tree between two peacocks, incised in the same light manner as the decoration on the two specimens already discussed; and a buckle-loop amongst the early material from the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Bifrons in Kent.³ The design on the Stanwick buckle relates it to the similarly decorated nail-cleaner from the Roman site at Rivenhall in Essex.⁴ Another buckle-plate of this type with an unusual incised animal figure in which the fur is rendered in a flecked convention similar to that familiar in the bronzes from the Gallo-Roman cemetery at Vermands occurred in disturbed levels at Jewry Wall, Leicester.⁵

The Stanwick buckle has no associations. The College Wood and Jewry Wall examples come from Roman sites that have shown no sign of Saxon occupation or squatting. The Bifrons buckle-loop, on the other hand, is from an early Saxon grave, and the contents of the Dyke Hills grave are customarily referred to (following Mr. Leeds)⁶ as without exception Teutonic in character. If, however, Forssander's demonstration of the entirely late-Roman origin and character of a large group of buckles in the best chip-carving styles, with 'Randtiere' and/or portrait medallions, is accepted,⁸ it becomes clear that the only Germanic thing in the Dyke Hills group is the long brooch. This is of the very earliest form, dated by Åberg c. A.D. 400.⁹

The Bifrons buckle can be explained as a late-Roman or sub-Roman piece surviving in Saxon hands, a phenomenon common enough with other classes of object, especially glass. There is thus no reason to regard the College Wood buckle-plate and pieces like it as Germanic. Its appearance on a Roman site producing a late coin may be taken at its face value. The use of small punched circles, already referred to, on the College Wood plate, is common enough at Vermand and occurs on the Dyke Hills rosette attachment plates.¹⁰

¹ E. T. Leeds, *Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, fig. 8; Baldwin Brown, *Arts*, iv, pl. CLII, no. II.

² British Museum, *Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities*, 1923, fig. 108; *Antiq. Journ.*, xi, 128; E. T. Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*, fig. 6.

³ Baldwin Brown, *Arts*, iii, pl. LXX, no. 6; E. T. Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*, pl. XII.

⁴ A. B. Tonnochy and C. F. C. Hawkes, 'The Sacred Tree Motive on a Roman Bronze from Essex', *Antiq. Journ.*, xi, 123-8.

⁵ Cf. E. T. Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*, pl. v and pp. 4-5.

⁶ Dr. K. M. Kenyon, *Society of Antiquaries Research Reports* No. XV, 1948, 255, fig. 84, no. 14. I am grateful to Mr. J. W. Brailsford for drawing my attention to this piece.

⁷ *Saxon Settlements*, 56.

⁸ J. E. Forssander, 'Provinzialrömisches und Germanisches', *Meddelanden, frdn Lunds Universitets Historiska Museum*, vii, 1936-7, 11-100.

⁹ *Anglo-Saxons in England*, 13 (and fig. 12).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, fig. 13.



a. Bronze socketed axe from Wangford, near Lakenheath. (1)



b. Late Roman buckle-plate from College Wood,
Winchester. (1)

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A bronze socketed axe of Danish type from Wangford, near Lakenheath.—Lady Briscoe, F.S.A., contributes the following note:—This small bronze axe or chisel (fig. 1 and pl. xvii a) was found by Mr. E. G. Beckett of Eriswell more than twenty years ago on a stony patch in Wangford Warren (Nat. Grid 52/755830), now included in Lakenheath Airfield. Since then it has been in his possession, and has been given now to the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (registration no. 53.175). Nothing else was found with it, though the spot was frequently searched by the finder's family.

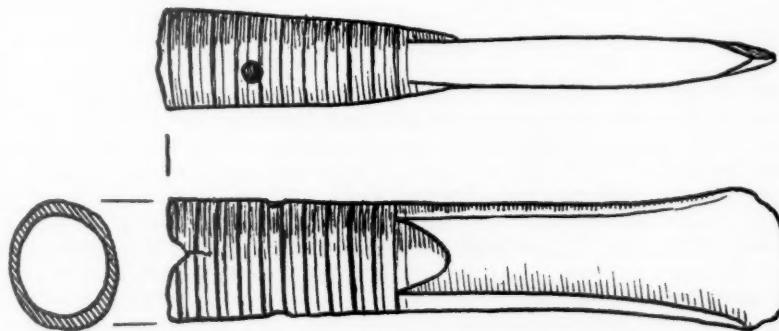


FIG. 1. Bronze socketed axe from Wangford, near Lakenheath. (‡)

The axe is $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, is fully socketed, and has horizontal grooves around the haft in imitation of lashing. It also shows a skeuomorphic survival of the rounded projection of the haft between the vestigial flanges. This implement is of a northern type, very rarely found in this country. It belongs to Montelius Period II of the Northern Bronze Age (1500–1100 B.C.). Sophus Müller¹ has described the development of this socketed type from the simple blade with flanges. First the thongs of leather are imitated by bands of bronze wound round the handle, later the bands are imitated by being cast together with the axe in such a way as to form a more shallow corrugation. In many of the Danish axes there is, below the transverse lines, a quadrilateral design which represents the forked ends of the haft. In the present axe these are represented by a rounded projection which encroaches upon the blade between the flanges. A close parallel, except for the shape of the socket which is pointed oval instead of round, comes from Cöthen, province of Anhalt, Germany.²

A comb fragment from Caistor, Lincs.—Mr. F. H. Thompson contributes the following: The fragment of bone comb here figured was presented to the City and County Museum, Lincoln,³ by the executors of the late Dr. A. C. Fraser, of Caistor, in whose possession it had been for many years. Although no definite provenance is attached to it, Mr. G. S. Dixon, F.S.A., a close friend of Dr. Fraser's, always understood that it was found in Caistor itself and is confident that it can be safely ascribed to that place. Unfortunately, the fragment lacks a terminal and so it is difficult to say whether it belongs to the Viking period or to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as Mr. Dudley Waterman remarks in a letter to Mr. F. T. Baker, quoted below; but it deserves mention as a type of object which must have been in frequent use in the Danelaw in both periods.

¹ Sophus Müller, *Mémoire de la Soc. des Antiq. du Nord*, 1908–9, p. 25.

and 56.

² Mannus, *Ergänzungsband*, 1925, iv, pp. 42.

³ Lincoln Museum Accession no. 40.47.

The fragment is the end portion of a hog-back comb and its maximum length is 2·9 inches; it is composed of a central plate which tapers gradually from the lower edge, bearing the teeth, to the upper, and to which are attached by iron rivets two outer plates with convex surfaces,



FIG. 1. A comb fragment from Caistor, Lincs. (1)

bearing the decoration. This consists on both faces of a panel of simple interlace with hatching in the open spaces, flanked by a narrow, horizontal band of interlace delimited by a border following the outline of the comb. Minor differences can be detected between the two faces, attributable less to intent than to the craftsman's inability to produce the same design twice.

To quote Mr. Waterman's letter, referred to above: 'This ornament occurs on combs of the Viking period . . . from the site of the great Viking trading centre at Birka. . . . But combs of this type with similar decoration are known from . . . Lund and Sigtuna, both sites being founded in or about the year A.D. 1000. . . . An 11th-century date is therefore open, and they most likely continue into the 12th; it is difficult to say when they disappear. . . . Therefore, although the comb may well belong, as Mr. Kendrick thinks, to 11th-12th centuries, a dating in the earlier Viking period is equally possible.'

REVIEWS

The Indus Civilization (Cambridge History of India supplementary volume). By SIR MORTIMER WHEELER, C.I.E. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$, Pp. xi + 96 + pls. 24. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1953. 18s.

Although the discoveries at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro were announced in the same year as the publication of vol. i of the Cambridge History of India, it is as well that the appearance of a supplementary volume describing the civilization unearthed at those sites was delayed until 1953; for had it been published in, say, 1939 we should have been committed to an authoritative statement containing several important errors.

Sir Mortimer Wheeler, having directed large-scale excavations at the two major sites, is well qualified to give a balanced account of the Indus Civilization. He excuses himself for this title rather unnecessarily, as, though there have been a number of Indus cultures, there was only one Indus civilization, which, though widely spread, was cradled in the valley of the Indus and never exceeded the bounds of its tributaries. The influence of climate is discussed and is shown to be more complex than can be accounted for by an assumption of greater annual rainfall. The historical accounts of north-west India from Buddhist times do, however, suggest that there has been considerable deforestation.

The involved problem of the cultures of the hill villages of the Indo-Iranian borderlands is dealt with in sufficient detail to give the necessary background to the general cultural environment in which the rise of this urban civilization took place. The distribution maps of the characteristic peasant culture wares, which those interested have so far had to work out for themselves, are of the greatest value.

It is in the matter of town-planning and urban administration that the Indus Civilization showed itself to be head and shoulders above its contemporaries. It is natural therefore that much of this book should be devoted to the layout of the two large cities and a description of the more important structures and the methods of drainage and sanitation, unique at that remote date. The presence of citadel rule, a discovery made by the author, is a matter of great importance in determining the probable nature of the Harappan social system. The idea that this rule might have been imposed by an immigrant régime (p. 28) accustomed to the use of mud-brick is ingenious, but at the moment, with the correct stratification of finds so uncertain, it is difficult to associate any other change or the introduction of new cultural objects with these very dominant aliens. The only piece of evidence is that the rather inefficient method of incorporating wooden tie-beams in the face of the brickwork is an innovation confined to the period of the construction of the earliest citadel buildings.

The economic basis which sustained this civilization was one of grain production. The whole apparatus of organized coolie lines and grain-pounding platforms is apparent at Harappa, and fresh material resulting from excavations by the author at Mohenjo-daro gives evidence of an imposing granary (pp. 31-32). Whether the workers were slaves is uncertain but it would seem probable (p. 23), and the small crouched terra-cotta figures, some with heavy collars, so common at Harappa may be *ex-voto* offerings of slaves in lieu of human sacrifice, attested by a seal engraving (p. 80). Such an output of grain implies trade, transport, and a system of weights and measures, all of which are comprehensively dealt with.

Materials and techniques are possibly the weakest part of an otherwise uniformly good description. The fact that an analysis of bitumen from Mohenjo-daro showed it to be refined rock asphalt obtained locally is not mentioned. The technique of production of various metal objects is not described, and cloth is mentioned with only slight comment. The characteristic seals are well described, but though the pictures, as is suggested (p. 78), must have a religious significance,

the inscriptions which differ in all cases must be personal; religious formulae would show constant repetition. It was not possible for much to be said about the script as so little is known, but it seems to be a syllabary of stylized pictographs produced arbitrarily, without modification, as the result of the knowledge of writing.

The dating proposed, without prejudice to anything that may emerge from the unplumbed depths of Mohenjo-daro, is 2500 to 1500 B.C., as suggested by the reviewer in *Iraq* in 1940. Unfortunately, as Sir Mortimer Wheeler himself remarks, it is unlikely that large-scale excavation will be resumed in the near future. This book therefore is likely to be looked upon as the final authority for some time and will stand up well as a first-class factual summary of this enigmatic civilization.

D. H. GORDON

Carchemish. Report on the Excavations at Jerablus on behalf of the British Museum, conducted by D. G. HOGARTH, R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON, and SIR LEONARD WOOLLEY, with T. E. LAWRENCE, P. L. O. GUY, and H. REITLINGER. Part 3. The Excavations in the Inner Town, by SIR LEONARD WOOLLEY, and The Hittite Inscriptions, by R. D. BARNETT. 12½ x 9½. Pp. 157-290. London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1952. £6.

This long-awaited volume contains the account of the excavations in the inner city of Carchemish in which were discovered the remarkable sculptures and inscriptions already published in the preceding volumes. The excavations at Carchemish were twice interrupted by violent events—by the outbreak of war in 1914 and again by the Franco-Turkish hostilities in 1920, and publication was deferred in the hope that the work might eventually be completed, but this has proved impossible. The only surviving member of the original expedition has therefore decided that the time has come to complete the publication of the work actually done, and for this archaeologists owe him a debt of gratitude.

The main excavated area comprises the road leading up from the Water Gate and the buildings on either side of it. North of the road against the slope of the acropolis mound was found a great staircase, presumed to be the approach to an 'Upper Palace' crowning the mound's south-eastern summit. Adjacent to the staircase was a temple of the Storm God, the outer wall of which was named by the excavators the 'Long Wall of Sculpture', and on its other side were traces of terrace walls and other structures round the foot of the acropolis. This complex of buildings is given the name 'Lower Palace', though in fact Sir Leonard seems to regard this and the hypothetical Upper Palace together as a single unit. It is, then, very confusing to read that the wide processional entry called the 'King's Gate' on the opposite side of the road is presumed to be the doorway of 'the Palace', for this refers to another building altogether, with an 'inner court', the northern end of which only was excavated. The King's Gate was flanked by sculptured slabs, which continued along the southern wall of the street towards the river (the so-called 'Herald's Wall'). Half-way to the river, also on the southern side, was a square building of the type called *bit hilani* with a pillared entrance, a wide shallow hall, and a staircase leading to an upper story.

Excavations on the twin summits of the acropolis were less satisfactory. The south-east summit had been surrounded in Hittite times by a defensive wall, but massive foundations of a Roman temple on this mound had destroyed all traces of the Hittite occupation except for a few cist graves. On the north-west summit was discovered a late Hittite temple, ascribed to the goddess Kubaba by reason of the statue of Kubaba found near by; but part of this building had fallen away down the slope, and what remains was only partially excavated.

The account of the sculptures and inscriptions (the latter by Mr. R. D. Barnett) has benefited by the delay in publication, since decipherment of the Hittite hieroglyphs has now reached a point where the names of the kings and their relationship to each other can be read from the

texts, and the inscribed stones can thus be accurately dated. Nearly all of them belong to the Neo-Hittite period following the overthrow of Hattusas; indeed, only two pieces (A. 18d and A. 30h) are thought by Mr. Barnett to date possibly from the time of the Hittite Empire. However, Sir Leonard Woolley would assign to this period, which he calls Middle Hittite, three groups of uninscribed sculptures: those of the Water-Gate, about which there can be little dispute; and those of the Herald's Wall and the inner court of the King's Gate, for which the evidence seems to be less conclusive. The exceedingly early date (c. 1750 B.C.) assigned to the Water-Gate sculptures will not be readily accepted by most archaeologists, but those who doubt it will have to consider carefully the fact that an 'Early Hittite' cist grave was found to have been cut into the brickwork of a tunnel which formed an integral part of the defences comprising the Water-Gate itself.

A curious problem is presented by the group of thirty-nine miniature figurines, made of lapis lazuli or steatite and set in gold, which were found in a late seventh-century grave, for they are 'the jeweller's reproduction in miniature of the great rock-cut reliefs of Yazilikaya'. Sir Leonard sees in them evidence of the continuance at Carchemish of the artistic traditions of imperial Hatti, and rejects the alternative theory that the figurines were an heirloom handed down through many generations. To the present writer the latter explanation seems more likely to be correct.

The plates show revisions and corrections of some of the published inscriptions as well as new material.

O. R. GURNEY

Lachish III (Tell ed-Duweir): The Iron Age. By OLGA TUFNELL, with contributions by MARGARET A. MURRAY and DAVID DIRINGER. 2 vols. I. Text, pp. 437. II. Plates 130. Published for the Trustees of the late Sir Henry Wellcome by the Oxford University Press, 1953. £8. 8s.

This sumptuous publication is the third of the four reports designed to place on record the results of six years of investigation on and around Tell ed-Duweir, in southern Palestine. That this great mound is all that remains of the Biblical Lachish has long been accepted as a probability, and the identity is seemingly confirmed by the comparison of fortifications and buildings (p. 55) with the bas-reliefs depicting the siege of Lachish found in Sennacherib's palace at Nineveh and now in the British Museum (shown in the Frontispiece). Miss Tufnell seems sometimes hesitant on this point (e.g. on p. 51), needlessly, I think, because the Onomasticon places it at the seventh milestone from Eleutheropolis and so leads to the same conclusion (p. 39). The varied and vast discoveries are fully accordant with the status of Lachish, evident from Biblical sources. The letter (no. IV, p. 333) from those who were 'watching for the signals of Lachish' must have come from outside, and confirms the identity.

In the earlier volumes, *The Lachish Letters* and *The Fosse Temple*, special features of the discoveries were described in collaboration by members of the expedition. In this one Miss Tufnell presents 'a close and detailed study of daily life' and its accessories in a chief city of Judah from the age of Solomon until its destruction by Nebuchadrezzar, about 586 B.C. She describes also the post-exilic remains which bring the story down to the second century B.C., when the site was finally abandoned. Our Fellow is to be congratulated on having completed an arduous task. It is no mere catalogue. The history and archaeology of the site and its cultural background, the fortifications and buildings uncovered within the city, the grouped contents of tombs and graves found outside in several areas, and other finds are dealt with adequately in separate sections. The author's style is factual and lucid; the illustrations—many of them her own pen-work—are appropriate and plentiful, and her conclusions are summarized by a number of useful charts in addition to the formal plans and reconstructions.

In the field of comparative archaeology Miss Tufnell's treatment of the innumerable objects recovered will long serve as a model for students. Mr. Starkey wisely devoted several seasons to a systematic examination of the areas abutting on the city mound, in search of suitable dumping-grounds, so that relatively little stratified clearance had been done within the city at the time when civil disturbances and his tragic death caused the excavation to be closed down. But those years of preliminary investigation had been astonishingly fruitful, and in this volume Miss Tufnell assembles and classifies by typological selection, and by comparison with specimens found elsewhere, everything attributable to the Iron Age. In this way she reduces a vast number of separate objects to an intelligible number of types and series. The process is an object-lesson in itself, and the result marks a new stage in the study of the Early Iron-Age pottery of Palestine. This book will clearly remain a standard work of reference for many years; it also contains much that is of interest and importance to students of Biblical archaeology and history.

The book comprises contributions by Dr. Margaret Murray, who describes the seals and scarabs (p. 360), and by Dr. David Diringer, who gives a fresh and complete account of the ostraca and the early Hebrew inscriptions (pp. 331 ff.). The inscribed scarabs are illustrated both by photographs (plates 43A and 44A) and also by line-drawings to face—a helpful method. Dr. Murray also describes the faience amulets (p. 37). Dr. Diringer deals with the seals and the seal-impressions in Hebrew, and in fig. 34 (p. 345) compares the letters of the royal jar-stamps with the Siloam inscription.

Special appendixes cover (a) Human and Animal Remains; (b) List of Coins; (c) Objects in The Palestine Museum; (d) Bible References; and there is a comprehensive index to the whole work.

The make-up of both volumes is excellent and I have not detected any printers' errors. It is satisfactory that the O.U.P. has abandoned in this case the illogical practice of calling a whole-page illustration of drawings a 'Figure' rather than a 'Plate'.

JOHN GARSTANG

Prehistoric Mersin: Yümük Tepe in Southern Turkey. By JOHN GARSTANG. 11 x 5½. Pp. xvii + 271. 34 pls. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1953. 63s.

Mersin is one of those major sites the discovery of which has changed our outlook. Its neolithic strata go back earlier than do those of most settlements; during the chalcolithic period its development was steady and protracted; it survived throughout the Hittite period and afterwards. We are now given the final publication, and scholars are indebted to Professor Garstang for having promptly begun and, in a relatively short time, completed the examination of much complicated evidence. Though digging was interrupted by war, the suspension of work had compensations, enabling Professor Garstang to collate with his own finds the results of spectacular excavations conducted by our Turkish colleagues and others during the years after 1939.

It is not, therefore, surprising that a few verdicts given in his preliminary reports have been modified: they concern chiefly the transitions from neolithic to chalcolithic, from chalcolithic to copper age. Among the new contributions which this volume brings are many of the beautiful and illuminating plans of successive strata by Mr. Seton Lloyd. To place one such plan at the beginning of each chapter was a good idea. Moreover, most chapters open with an account of the salient characteristics and economic significance of the period covered: readers can thus obtain a clear idea of the settlement's fortunes, while they can check their conclusions by reading the sections that follow on stratigraphy, architectural detail, pottery, and other objects.

The story concerns a growing town which, owing to its geographical position in the Cilician plain, was subject to influences from two quarters. First and most easily came contacts with the south-east, where civilization ripened rapidly. Later, in the third millennium, people from the

Anatolian plateau left their mark, and Anatolia became the dominant power once again during the great days of the Hittite Empire. The part played by Mersin as a transmitter is a subject for speculation. Like Tarsus, it was well placed for maritime contacts, and had evidently stabilized them at the time of Troy I and II. On this subject there are some useful comments in Chapter IX, which also refers to the delicate problem of origins for Cretan and Greek neolithic—delicate because, up to date, no true neolithic stage has as yet been recognized in any part of Anatolia except Cilicia and the Troad.

To review a book without criticism is rarely a compliment. The present reviewer would have liked to see even more photographs of pottery, or perhaps more pots, on each plate, since no drawing conveys an adequate idea of the fabric. And p. 210 needs an allusion to the fact that Kültepe was burned twice. These are small matters when so much calls for gratitude to Professor Garstang and his colleagues. Among the contributions of the latter, Mr. Barnett's invaluable account of East Greek pottery (reprinted from *L.A.A.A.* xxvi) and Miss Florence Freemantle's enchanting frontispiece deserve especial mention.

W. LAMB

Shaheinab; an account of the excavation of a Neolithic occupation site carried out for the Sudan Antiquities Service in 1949-50. By A. J. ARKELL. 12½ x 10. Pp. xix + 114 + pls. 43. Oxford University Press, 1953. £3. 3s.

This handsome volume gives a final account of the excavations conducted by the author at the Neolithic occupation site of Shaheinab which lies between Jebel and the sixth cataract in the area of the Sudan. The site, which is situated on the west bank of the Nile, was selected because it was considered a typical example of the culture originally named by the author 'Gouge culture' from the tool which occurred in good numbers at that site. The same culture is now named Neolithic and is considered subsequent to the Early Khartoum Mesolithic also brought to light by Mr. Arkell (*Early Khartoum*, Oxford University Press, 1949). Although the site was partly eroded and especially disturbed by later ? Protodynastic, ? Meroitic, medieval and Moslem burials, the author, through painstaking and conscientious excavations, succeeded in presenting a most comprehensive picture of the culture represented. His work is therefore remarkable not only for the extreme care in the field but also for the interpretation of the scanty architectural remains and of the many finds here described in detail. The report comprises a description of the ? Protodynastic and ? Meroitic burials and of the trial excavation at the site of El Qoz at a small distance south-west of Khartoum, where the succession Early Khartoum Mesolithic followed by the Shaheinab Neolithic culture is confirmed.

In the preface the author gives a short outline of the problem which he set out to investigate. This is followed by chapter I which gives a description of the site and of the excavated remains. These, as already stated, were scanty, a fact which is attributed to the flimsy nature of habitations which left no trace whatsoever. However in some of the excavated strips (plan on Plate II) Neolithic hearths were discovered. These are described much later in the text (pp. 78 ff.) after the description of the finds evidently because the author wanted to include in the tables on pp. 78 and 81 respectively the percentages of the finds (pottery and others) described in the intervening chapters and associated with the hearths which, incidentally, were for cooking. The evidence from these hearths is most important in that they provided gouges, celts of bone and rhyolite, shell fish-hooks and fine pottery with black triangles below the rim on the outside, which therefore all belong to the Khartoum Neolithic.

Following an account in chapter II of the geology, river levels and rainfall where the author reaches the conclusion that the Nile was higher at flood time in Mesolithic than in Neolithic times and also higher in the latter times than at present, we get in chapter III an interesting

description of the fauna by the late Miss Dorothy Bate. Ninety-eight per cent. of the specimens came from wild animals and only 2 per cent. from domestic dwarf goats and sheep. It is suggested that the dwarf goat was introduced by immigrants from Algeria via Ahaggar and Tibesti. The description of the various finds, personal ornaments, stone implements and artifacts of bone, horn-core and ivory is detailed and stimulating. It is not simply a typological classification but especially an interpretation permitting an insight into these early inhabitants of the Sudan and of the whole of their life. The gouge of rhyolite is a typical stone implement of this culture although this implement was used as a hollow-cut adze for hollowing tree-trunks to make dug-out canoes (p. 31) and not as a real gouge. Unfortunately space does not permit the reviewer to give even the shortest summary of the author's discussion of the various finds and of the features either traditional or new which make up the Shaheinab Neolithic culture.

The description of the pottery is another chapter (VIII) of fascinating interest. First the few specimens of the dotted wavy line ware, which links up Shaheinab with the Khartoum Mesolithic, are described and then the impressed pottery which is typical of the Neolithic culture represented by Shaheinab. The great innovation is the appearance of the black-topped red ware and the black ware which later became typical of the Badarian and Predynastic of Egypt (p. 103). Chapter XIII, Summary and Conclusions, gives a remarkable survey of the Shaheinab Neolithic culture, its connexion with Khartoum Mesolithic and its characteristics, as well as of all the innovations which mark the appearance of that culture. The same chapter contains a discussion of the absolute date given by the radio-carbon method. The results show some discrepancy between the tests of charcoal and shell specimens, the figures for the latter agreeing with those from specimens of the Fayum Neolithic A, with which the Shaheinab Neolithic has many associations. An absolute date early in the fourth millennium is however provisionally accepted by the author (p. 107).

The human remains from Shaheinab are too scanty to permit any racial conclusions but the author thinks that 'it is reasonable to assume that while the bulk of the Khartoum Neolithic people were negroid, they may well have included a number of immigrants, perhaps an aristocracy, belonging to the Brown race' (p. 107). The suggestion by the author (p. 103) that the combed and then burnished pottery of the Khartoum Neolithic may be ancestral to the rippled pottery typical of Badarian, is tempting. In this connexion, however, I refer to Professor Childe's remarks on p. 47 of his *Most Ancient East* (fourth edition).

Mr. Arkell has presented a most comprehensive and lucid report which together with his *Early Khartoum* constitute a very substantial contribution to that 'Mosaic' of early cultures of the Near East which is slowly but steadily completed. Both these publications help us to picture the cultural development in that part of the world and attempt comparisons. It is tempting, for example, to draw a parallel between the wavy line pottery (*Early Khartoum*, Pls. LXVI-LXVII) and the combed pottery from Neolithic Cyprus (see my *Khirokitia*, Oxford 1953, frontispiece and Pls. LXXI ff.). Mere coincidence?

The book is beautifully produced by the Oxford University Press and most adequately illustrated. The highest praise is due both to the author and to the Sudan Antiquities Service on whose behalf the work was done.

P. DIKAIOS

Khirokitia. Final report on the excavation of a Neolithic settlement in Cyprus on behalf of the Department of Antiquities, 1936-1946. By PORPHYRIOS DIKAIOS, L. ès L., F.S.A. 11 x 8½. Pp. xxii + 447 + pls. 152. Published for the Government of Cyprus by Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1953. £8. 8s.

This large volume contains the report of the excavations carried out between 1936 and 1939

and supplemented in 1946 at the Neolithic settlement of Khirokitia, under the direction of Dr. Dikaios, Curator of the Cyprus Museum. The settlement lies approximately half-way between Nicosia and Limassol, in a pleasant valley, by a perennial spring.

The excavations revealed, situated on the side of the hill overlooking the modern road, a settlement of Neolithic people, already agriculturists, to judge by the querns and sickle-blades, in a pre-pottery stage of development for most of the settlement, but with domesticated animals. They lived in a series of stone tholoi varying in diameter from 6 to 10 metres. The walls were of river pebbles or rough limestone blocks, but the superstructures were of pisé or mud brick, which had collapsed and were found in some cases overlying the upper floor of the tholoi. Many of the tholoi had substantial stone pillars, probably roof supports, or for holding a rough wooden beam to support an upper floor. These tholoi are classified by Dr. Dikaios into five main types according to their method of building. The second and third sections of the book cover the architectural remains, the tholoi, their hearths, floors, pits, and the burials. There was a scarcity of household objects discovered on the floors, in contrast to the large quantities discovered with the burials. The burials were usually single and contracted but in varying degrees; while accompanying the bodies were utensils and personal effects, showing that the cult of the dead was already strongly developed. These consisted mainly of stone bowls and flint tools, as the major portion of the settlement belonged to the pre-pottery era.

The longest section of the book is that devoted to the finds: the stone bowls finely made; the pottery from the upper levels; the stone tools, mortars, pounders, and mace-heads; the beads and figurines. In an appendix Dr. Stekelis has contributed a note on the stone tools, and the human remains are considered by Mr. Angel in Appendix II.

The most important section of this report is the fifth, where Dr. Dikaios fixes the absolute chronology of Khirokitia and compares this with other prehistoric sites on the island, as shown in Fig. 108. The excavator recognizes three main periods at Khirokitia: I and II, which are mainly pre-pottery, and III, marked by the introduction of a well made painted and combed ware. This last shows a possible overlap with Kalavassos A and Sotira, two of the other prehistoric Cypriot sites. It is worth mentioning here how much we owe to Dr. Dikaios for the information about pre-Bronze Age sites in Cyprus, thirty of which were listed in his Erimi publication, and another new eighteen localities in this. It is not, however, the relationship of the Cypriot settlements to one another that is the difficulty so much as their relations outside the island. Where did these settlers come from? The obsidian may be of Anatolian origin as it appears to be similar to that from Mersin in Cilicia, whose inhabitants obtained their obsidian from near Kayseri. The pottery from the site seems to go with that of Troulli on the north coast of the island, and the patterns used resemble those of the Mersin Chalcolithic. This pottery may have been introduced by the dwellers in the half-sunk thatched houses common on some of the other sites as opposed to the tholoi-dwelling Khirokitians. Unfortunately the very isolation of these people makes them hard to place. The skulls, many of which were purposely deformed, belong to a short-headed race of medium height, and are unlike any other early group so far known from Anatolia, Syria—Palestine, or Iran—but in saying this it must be admitted that there is not very much comparable material. This lack of evidence makes it difficult to know whether one is dealing with an isolated group or part of a larger racial collection.

This is really the problem about the Khirokitia material; it is unlike that from the contemporary settlements. Other pre-pottery sites are known: Jarmo in northern Iraq, Jericho in Jordan, and part of Ras Shamra Level V, but in none of these is the material closely parallel to that from Khirokitia. Nor does it seem on the evidence available that the later Cypriot sites developed from Khirokitia but rather that they were due to fresh impulses from abroad. The stone bowls from Khirokitia though beautifully made are of little use to us for comparative purposes as no similar vessels are known from neighbouring countries. It is interesting that the

tholos type of dwelling would seem to be endemic in Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean as it also occurs in the island in the Chalcolithic and Late Bronze Age and still appears on the island in isolated instances. The flint tools are of such simple types that they are of little help in seeking their derivation, but I feel that they have closer European than Near Eastern affinities.

Dr. Dikaios and the Department of Antiquities deserve complimenting on the way that the material from this important site has been presented; the photographs and drawings are both excellent. Unfortunately the length and subsequent high cost of this volume will place it beyond the reach of the average interested archaeologist.

M. V. SETON WILLIAMS

The Sword from the Rock. An Investigation into the Origins of Epic Literature and the Development of the Hero. By G. R. LEVY. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 236. London: Faber & Faber, 1953. 30s.

In Miss Levy's previous book, *The Gate of Horn*, she boldly traced a relation between the religious concepts of the Palaeolithic period, the later Stone Age, and the later Bronze Age civilization of Mesopotamia and adjacent regions. That study, though not approved of in all orthodox quarters, was yet stimulating and original. In this volume as a sort of sequel she seeks to establish a connexion between the ancient epic poems and certain types of rituals of which they may have formed part. For this purpose the epic is divided into three types: (1) Those relating to the establishment of world order, (2) those related to a search or voyage of discovery, (3) those related to heroic warfare. Chapter I discusses the place of epics in the rituals of western Asia, which is fair enough and generally accepted up to a point at least as far as type (1) is concerned, but as far as type (3) goes, its ritual connexion is weak or absent. This leaves type (2), the epic relating to a search, as the chief new point contributed in this study, the examples being the epics of Ishtar looking for Tammuz, Gilgamesh, Odysseus, Aeneas, and the Holy Grail. But is in fact this questing figure discernibly a survival of a ritual figure? The earliest surviving Sumerian version of the epic of Ishtar is strangely different from that we know from later Assyrian times, and does not seem certainly to show her seeking for Tammuz at all. In fact in spite of our increase in both material and understanding of it, too much in this field is still too obscure for us to form opinions. A quest is an ideal subject for an epic poem, and once discovered, the recipe was repeated and spread far and wide. The attempt here to explain several phenomena under one heading in the Frazerian manner arouses doubts.

There is a series of careless and recurrent misspellings of names, not to be expected from so good a scholar as Miss Levy: Aquasha, Muwutalli, Kukulli, Zaparnit, Illyunka.

The title of the book alludes to the author's ingenious interpretation of the famous Sword God figure at Yazili-Kaya, the Hittite sanctuary, as a sort of Excalibur. The lucky find of a Hittite tablet may one day provide the confirmation of her suggestion, or perhaps equally its refutation.

Two small points. First, the recent decipherment of the Minoan Linear B script has already altered the statement that among the Myceneans 'the Greek religion was as yet unborn'. Second, the small twin figures at Yazili-Kaya are now known to be carrying not divine furniture but the hieroglyph of Heaven, while they stand on that of Earth.

R. D. BARNETT

Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne. Par J. VANDIER. Tome 1^{er}: *Les Époques de formation.* $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. I. 'La Préhistoire.' Pp. viii + 609. II. 'Les Trois Premières Dynasties.' Pp. 610-1044. Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard, 1952.

This is the first volume of a monumental work, the scope of which would seem to be beyond the powers of any one man were he not another Petrie. The author is not a Petrie, and this first

portion of the work is disappointing. A manual of the archaeology of a country ideally should treat the various classes of archaeological objects, group by group, and period by period within the group, including only the objects typical of each period, and providing illustrations showing clearly the distinctive features of each object. Such a work is badly needed for Egypt: but the one under review is far from meeting that need. It consists largely of a string of précis of the excavation reports of original authorities—précis not always free from unnecessary detail, while the author's own contribution is mainly confined to a few comments, usually rather superficial. The result is a prolix and badly balanced book. The only real classification of objects is to be found when the author is making his précis from analytical works such as Petrie's *Prehistoric Egypt* and *Prehistoric Egypt Corpus*: but no use has been made of his *Funeral Furniture and Stone Vases*, as could with benefit have been done.

The 665 illustrations are, all but one, copies of illustrations already published, some not well chosen, and many so reduced in size as to be impossible to use. Possibly realizing this, the author gives a useful list showing where they all came from.

The book is not free from mistakes or important omissions: and the author shows at times an ignorance of technology surprising in an archaeologist. It will be of little use to scholars, although students will no doubt welcome it as bringing together much information not all of which is otherwise easily accessible to them. But they are advised not to rely on it too whole-heartedly.

A. J. ARKELL

Adam's Ancestors. An Up-to-date Outline of the Old Stone Age and what is known about Man's Origin. 4th edition. By L. S. B. LEAKEY. 8 x 5½. Pp. xi + 235. London: Methuen, 1953. 21s.

This new edition of Dr. Leakey's popular little book on prehistory is, as the jacket tells us, completely rewritten. Much has been added concerning discoveries made since the last edition appeared some twenty years ago, and much as advantageously cut out. Both processes might perhaps with advantage have been carried a little farther, but the result none the less is a readable, provocative, and on the whole reliable introduction to the subject.

I say 'on the whole' advisedly, since the book shows evident signs of having been rewritten in haste, and minor slips and inaccuracies abound. One such slip is in the bibliography: 'Forty . . . of Prehistoric Art' by H. Breuil. Perhaps Dr. Leakey disagrees with the time scale, but cannot make up his mind on a better? Few indeed would blame him for scepticism on the first score, but surely some attempt should have been made to discuss the not inconsiderable evidence of absolute dating for the Pleistocene in general. The question is after all not only one which captures the popular imagination but fundamental to our whole conception of human development. One wonders if the author has ever heard of the researches of G. F. Kay, or W. D. Thornbury on gumbotil formation, and those of R. W. Sayles on eolianites, or considered the effect of the now proven duration of post-glacial time upon them?

Again even granting that a short book of this kind is no place in which to discuss in detail the pros and cons of Palaeolithic art, surely ten pages is a little perfunctory on so important a subject. It is clear, in fact, that Dr. Leakey's heart is with the stone implements rather than with any other manifestation of our forebears' activity; and it is on this subject that he is at his best, for he is able to contribute not merely wide knowledge of the specimens themselves but also considerable personal experience of how they may be made.

Knowledge of this latter kind is indeed of such evident importance to the Pleistocene prehistorian that one wonders how writers of elementary textbooks in the past have ventured to interpret tool forms and the evidence for culture stages without it.

It is to be hoped that from now on they will take the hint from Dr. Leakey, go into their gardens with a lump of flint and a quartz pebble, and find out the basic facts of Pleistocene technology for themselves.

C. B. M. McBURNEY

Die Bronzezeit in Süd- und Westdeutschland. Von FRIEDRICH HOLSTE. Handbuch der Urgeschichte Deutschlands, Band 1. 11 x 8½. Pp. 128. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1953. DM. 23.

The 'first' *Handbuch der Urgeschichte Deutschlands* (nos. 2 and 3 appeared fifteen years ago) turns out to be the 'Habilitationsschrift' of F. Holste who was killed, fighting against our Russian allies, in May 1942, seven days after his appointment to the professorship of Pre- and Proto-history at Marburg, compulsorily vacated by Gero von Merhart. 'It seemed to the Editor', says the foreword, 'an obvious duty, both in the interests of science and out of piety towards the fallen, to publish without any modification this work of true German research (*echten deutschen Forschertums*).' It certainly displays to a conspicuous degree a grave defect that has infected most German prehistoriography for half a century. Attention is concentrated so exclusively on archaeological phenomena easily susceptible to variation (*empfindliche*), i.e. types that the author has found useful for establishing chronological or chorological divisions, that objects or events of far profounder historical significance are ignored. The Mehrstetten shield is—or was till Thomas restored the Normanton specimen—the oldest shield in Cisalpine Europe and probably the oldest round shield in the world. Holste never mentions it! Nor does he mention pig-breeding in the forest of Haguenau, *sati* burials, sickles from tumulus graves, etc.

In addition to German works the lists of authorities, printed at the end of each chapter (detailed footnote references are excluded from this series), mention Böhm's *Základy* four times, Eisner's *Slovensko v pravěku*, Pic's *Čechy předhistorické*, and Stocky's *La Bohème à l'Âge du Bronze* once each, Schaeffer's *Tertres* four and Childe's *Danube* seven (!) times. Still at the time of writing Austria was an 'Ostmark', Bohemia a 'Protektorat', France occupied, England ripe for annexation. Oddly enough it was this, in my view unhappy, position that conferred on the book one of its outstanding merits: the Tumulus Culture, its main theme, is here treated as a whole—one might have wished that the preceding Early Bronze Age had been handled equally comprehensively. Though Holste's work is eminently worthy of publication *in toto*, it may be questioned whether a work composed in 1941 is now best presented as the 'Hand-book of Germany's Prehistory' in the Bronze Age. In the last twelve years researches in Germany, still more in the liberated regions and even in Great Britain, often following lines initiated by Holste himself in earlier works, have gone far to confirming some of his hypotheses, refining his divisions, giving precision to his absolute dates; for instance, though he mentions the amber spacer-beads from Kakovatos, he gives no indication of their analogues' position in his relative chronology nor of its consequences.

Yet his book is a valuable and original contribution to knowledge. Its originality is displayed not so much in the publication of new finds (most of the pictures are old friends) nor in his new scheme of relative chronology (it had been foreshadowed and partially documented in previous works), but in its total view of Bronze Age development in west-central Europe. The conclusions deserve summarizing concisely—and technically.

In the Early Bronze Age the Adlerberg culture 'appears as a classic example of the cultural decline of the Bell-beaker culture left to itself' (p. 101), but the Straubing culture, in which the Beaker element was mixed with more east-central European components, initiated copper-mining in the Austrian Alps and controlled trade in its products (neither Italy nor Mycenae are mentioned nor, of course, Schaeffer's Torque-bearers). 'The turbulent end of the Early Bronze

Age' and of the Straubing commercial empire 'is marked by the numerous Early Bronze Age hoards'; these represent, not the normal hazards of all prehistoric commercial travelling, but, like later coin-hoards, a period of general disturbance, since from the 'three hundred odd years of peaceful Middle Bronze Age development' practically no hoards survive. This violent end 'obviously precedes the earliest types of the Tumulus culture' (p. 106); the latter are not derivable from Early Bronze Age types, but must originate in a distinct centre of metal production farther east 'for whose expansion the end of the Straubing commercial hegemony was the pre-supposition'. Hence no development of Middle, out of local Early, Bronze Age types and no A2-B1 overlap; the almost Bohemian palstav from the Regensburg hoard 'remains an isolated instance of the close Verküpfung [sic, read 'linkage'] of an Early Bronze Age and a Middle Bronze Age type' (p. 16); Holste seems to doubt Böhm's reference to Early Bronze Age types from south Bohemian tumuli, more fully published since the liberation, and omits Donauberg (Alsace). The consumers were neither immigrants from Hungary nor descendants of the Early Bronze Age Adlerberg-Straubing peasants, but pastoral groups of final neolithic survivors, crystallized round a Battle-axe core (an old suggestion, adopted by Childe in 1927). 'The predominance of the Bell-beaker culture with its satellite neolithic remnants is smashed. Victory falls to the Battle-axe culture which henceforth dominates the field!' (p. 120). The Tumulus culture itself is divisible into eight local groups, each of which developed along its own distinct lines during the Middle Bronze Age, but in each of which two or three typological stages can be distinguished. Only in the first of the three (*älteste Horizont? = ältere Abschnitt*) recognizable in the four eastern groups (the author seems less confident about Hesse than in 1939) do we meet an assemblage of types common to all the groups. Failure to distinguish between local and temporal differences in fashion has inflated Reinecke's scheme; here the 'Mycenaean' rapier from Hammer, assigned by Reinecke to C, is no older than the Riegsee group that represents Reinecke's D. This group, together with Mels-Rixheim, heralds the first arrival of foreign cultures that, after a second period of disturbance, emerges as the Urnfield cultures in the valleys left uninhabited since the Early Bronze Age. My attempt to secure some measure of continuity in settlement of the valleys is quite incompatible with Holste's position. Still we read on p. 17: 'In the *Wohngruben* round Straubing themselves stray sherds of Tumulus Bronze Age technique and ornament are met among Early Bronze Age wares so that there can hardly be an alternative to the assumption of the contemporaneity of both kinds of pottery and their makers'; and lower down: 'The fact that pottery of the Urnfield period in many respects displays such striking similarity to that of the Early Bronze Age may suggest that the force (*Kraft*) of the Straubing culture substantially outlived the Early Bronze Age.'

V. GORDON CHILDE

Les Civilisations protohistoriques de L'Aquitaine. Par GABRIELLE FABRE. 10 x 6½. Pp. 182. Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard, 1952. Fr. 2,000.

Mademoiselle Gabrielle Fabre has worked for many years in the Musée des Antiquités nationales and in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, where she is now Conservateur Adjoint, and her researches have been most specially in the field of what the French call *protohistoire*, and what we would call the Neolithic, Bronze, and Early Iron Ages, in south and south-western France. Some of the results of her work have already been published in the pages of *Gallia*; now she presents us with a complete study of Aquitaine from post-Mesolithic times through to the Gallic wars, and adds to it an inventory of all the protohistoric discoveries in the departments of Landes, Basses et Hautes-Pyrénées, Gers, and Lot-et-Garonne. 'Quiconque', says Monsieur Lantier, 'voudra étudier la Gaule préromaine, devra désormais se référer à ce travail', and he is quite right.

In the first place, this is an invaluable source-book for students of French archaeology, in the same way as was the British series of County archaeologies, alas, now extinct. How much French archaeology is in need of these detailed regional studies of the two pre-Christian millennia! Ferrier in 1941 with his *La Préhistoire en Gironde* made a beginning, and Mademoiselle Fabre carries us a stage farther. What we now need is many more books like this one: Giot on Brittany, for example (for le Pontois is out of date), Arnal and Louis on Languedoc, and Balsan on the *causses* country (where Temple's inventories have made such a splendid beginning). It is only by such regional surveys and their study against the background of comparative European archaeology that we can hope to understand the Neolithic, Bronze, and Early Iron Ages in France and rewrite Déchelette, still, after forty years, the standard work of reference on these periods.

But it is not only as a source book and as an inspiration to French archaeology that this book is to be welcomed. Mademoiselle Fabre has a wide knowledge of comparative archaeology and she studies her material in its west European setting. Her main field of interest is the Early Iron Age, and what she has to say about coins and the identification of tribes in Aquitaine in the immediate pre-Roman period is of the greatest value, but her comments on the earlier periods are also of interest. She very properly prefers the term *énéolithique* to *neolithique* because so much of the so-called Neolithic material (like polished axes with squared sides) are copies of bronze tools and because outside Aquitaine the alleged Neolithic material is found associated with copper and bronze tools. She distinguishes three Eneolithic (or Chalcolithic) cultures in south-west France, an agricultural one represented mainly by settlement sites, a pastoral represented by megalithic tombs and barrows, and a third, *la civilisation des grottes*, dependent on the other two; and these distinctions are not merely based on the different nature of the sites concerned. Her emphasis on the pastoral nature of the megalith builders in southern France is probably right, although it should be noted she is writing mainly of the gallery grave-builders in the sub-Pyrenean region. It is a pity that in her treatment of megaliths and barrows, as of the later material, there are not more illustrations. It seems almost incredible to an English reader that it would be possible to write of field monuments without plans and photographs. Mademoiselle Fabre has herself done a great deal of field work, but her book is mainly concerned with objects in museums. The French regional archaeologies, to which this book points the way, must study and describe field monuments as well as objects in museums. The French sometimes think that British archaeologists like Wheeler and Crawford overemphasize archaeology in the field and the French lack of field archaeology. There is, of course, plenty of field work in France, but what is lacking is the presentation of that field work in written form. Much as we must welcome and value Mademoiselle Fabre's book, we must regret it does not tell us more by word and plan and photograph about the field antiquities of south-western France.

GLYN E. DANIEL

The Ancient City of Athens: its Topography and Monuments. By IDA THALLON HILL. 8½ x 5½. Pp. 258 + 2 plates + 34 plans. London: Methuen & Co., 1953. 25s.

This is a book that many people have been wanting. Mrs. Hill is uniquely fitted to write it, both in her own right and as the wife of the one person perhaps even better qualified than herself. The moment is also well chosen; the author has been able to absorb the new light from the Kerameikos excavations and incorporate the topographical discoveries down to the concluding stages of the great excavations in the Agora.

The opening chapters give a valuable, up-to-date synthesis of the development of primitive Athens. The following section on the Agora is inevitably dry reading because of the close detail; but we have for the first time a balanced picture of this magnificent civic centre, and scholars will be especially grateful to have it so clearly presented with full references. The part

on the Theseum and Acropolis is brief but authoritative; it incorporates the most recent work, including unpublished observations of B. H. Hill and G. P. Stevens. On the scattered antiquities of the southern quarters also Mrs. Hill's cover is summary and will not entirely replace Judeich for purposes of research, but the briskness of the treatment and handy size give her book a value of its own. Mrs. Hill has pursued a mean between a guide and a work of reference, and has succeeded in many places in making her narrative enjoyable while never neglecting to provide the accurate information required of her. On controversial issues she has presented the conflicting views fairly and thus allowed the reader to be aware of the problems. Those who cannot read the book in the home of the monuments may regret the economy in photographs (and to a lesser degree in the plans); and some misconceptions might be avoided in a second edition by the re-lettering of the old plan of the building complexes west of the Acropolis and the correction of some misprints in proper names. But these are minor blemishes in proportion to the total gain. Mrs. Hill's book is the perfect handbook for the serious traveller or scholar visiting Athens and will be in constant use in libraries as a reliable and up-to-date textbook on the topography and monuments.

J. M. COOK

Excavations at Dorchester, Oxon. By R. J. C. ATKINSON, C. M. PIGGOTT, and N. K. SANDARS. First Report. Sites I, II, IV, V, and VI, with a chapter on Henge Monuments by R. J. C. ATKINSON. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. xii + 151. Oxford: Department of Antiquities, Ashmolean Museum, 1951. 13s. 6d.

The five monuments here dealt with were among those discovered from the air by the late Major Allen. Their excavation was undertaken in 1946 under the joint auspices of the Ashmolean Museum and of the Inspectorate for Ancient Monuments of H.M. Office of Works as a salvage operation, and by Easter 1948 the sites of all of them had been engulfed by the extension of gravel-working. The present Report, containing as it does an objective account of the excavation by the most modern methods of a group of monuments new to British archaeology, is a document of permanent value which reflects great credit on the authors, each of whom played a leading part in the actual field investigations. The report is particularly valuable for its demonstration of the power of modern techniques: sites were discovered by air-photography and their details plotted by means of resistivity survey, the first application of its kind to prehistoric monuments; the excavations were meticulously laid out and recorded; and samples of soils and organic remains were sedulously collected and examined by experts in their respective fields.

The chapter on 'The Henge Monuments of Great Britain', contributed by Mr. Atkinson, is more open to criticism. The author has wisely, in the reviewer's opinion, retained the term 'henge' for descriptive purposes: just as the name 'Woodhenge', invented by no one knows who during the first season's excavation, was adopted and retained because (in Mrs. Cunnington's words) 'it proved to be so convenient and descriptive', so the term 'henge', first applied generically by Kendrick to a class or family of analogous monuments, has stuck because it seems to characterize in a word a well-defined category of monuments. The fact that on strictly etymological grounds the term 'henge' can only with certainty be applied to Stonehenge itself is irrelevant so long as we are all agreed what we mean to imply by it.

The leading formal elements of 'henge' monuments have been generally understood to comprise: (a) a central, more or less circular area supporting stone or timber uprights; (b) a bank, and, where the material for this was obtained by excavation, a ditch, which was normally, though not invariably, inside the bank; and (c) one or two entrances giving access to the central area through bank and, where present, ditch.

Now Atkinson proposes to classify as 'henge monuments' a number of the structures so admirably recovered by himself and his colleagues at Dorchester which fail to satisfy the first and most outstanding of these essential criteria. Site II, for which 'there was no evidence for entrance, causeways or timber structures in any phase of construction' and of which the banks for the two later phases were internal, is, it is true, omitted from the classification, but the others are from this point of view in little better case. If we agree with the author's revised opinion that none of the hollows in the central areas originally held uprights, neither nos. I, IV, V or VI satisfy the first and most clearly marked criterion of a 'henge' monument. As regards the surrounding bank, the position of this could only be inferred from the nature of the ditch filling: in no. I it was judged to be internal, in nos. IV and V external, and in no. VI doubtful. Nos. IV-VI, it is true, have single entrances, but in the first phase of Site I it was considered 'likely that the oval ditch was continuous, without any entrance gap'. Scale is not a criterion on which one would necessarily care to lay much stress in making formal comparisons, but it is surely significant that, if we exclude the site in Fargo Plantation which equally lacks the feature of an interior structure, the Dorchester sites are all substantially smaller than the smallest recognized 'henge' monument (see fig. 27).

The great achievement of the Dorchester excavations has surely been to rescue from oblivion a new and hitherto unrecognized category of sacred monuments of neolithic age. It is the plea of the present reviewer that this should not be obscured by referring the new monuments to a well-defined category, a leading feature of which they so conspicuously lack. As Atkinson emphasizes, the affinities of the Dorchester monuments lie with Stonehenge I and this in itself suggests their role as progenitors of the 'henge' monuments with free-standing uprights of stone or timber, which by general consent constitute the most outstanding single contribution of Britain to the general heritage of European prehistory. What is beyond dispute is that this first report has already notably enriched our concept of Neolithic Britain and that its successor will be eagerly awaited.

J. G. D. CLARK

Antioch-on-the-Orontes, IV, Part 2. Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Crusaders' Coins. By Dorothy B. WAAGE. 13½ x 11. Pp. xii + 187. Princeton: Princeton University Press. London: Oxford University Press. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1953. 163s. 6d.

The second part of the record of coin finds from the excavations of Antioch and its vicinity by Princeton University covers an immense extent of history from Hellenistic to Crusader times. The presentation of these finds in such a lavish large folio volume will arouse envy amongst archaeologists in this country who are constantly faced with the problem of putting a quart into a pint pot—and, indeed, it seems somewhat unnecessary to describe in full coins already amply described in standard works. Mrs. Waage enters a modest disclaimer that this is not an analysis of the finds but a simple catalogue and description, having in mind, presumably, Bellinger's classic commentary in his final report on the coins of Dura Europas. She contents herself with a general introduction on her *Systematik*. She has chosen, in the description of the coins, to describe the reverse before the obverse on the ground that as the catalogue is arranged by rulers, the most important remaining factor is the reverse. This is perfectly logical, but as the standard arrangement is the opposite it proves only a mild exasperation. It seems unfortunate, too, that while the die-position of Greek and Byzantine coins are noted those of Roman coins are not; for the present writer has discovered at least one series of Roman coins where die-position is significant. The inclusion—without indication—of some coins purchased on the site is, despite Mrs. Waage's disclaimer, questionable.

In the Greek section of this catalogue she shows an amazing intimacy with the various series. In the Seleucid series she had Newell's publications as a guide, though for one series of Seleucus II (p. 7), found in quantity at Antioch, she prefers the mint of Antioch to Newell's Apamea; but the latter is so close to Antioch that the presence of such coins at Antioch is not strange. The cataloguing of the Roman section must have been a more straightforward task, for the majority of the coins are post-Diocletian with indisputable mint signatures. The comparatively small number of pre-Diocletian coins found at Antioch is a striking illustration of the small part played by the imperial series proper in the coin circulation of the Eastern Empire. Mrs. Waage has sailed a wary course in the treacherous waters of mint attributions in the unmarked series. In the disputed attribution of the Eastern mints of Valerian and Gallienus, for instance, she has based her catalogue on Alföldi's two great articles in *Berytus*, but, while she cites Olmstead and Bellinger, whose conclusions were based partly on evidence not available to Alföldi, she has not, by modifying Alföldi and applying the result to the Antioch finds, produced a catalogue which might serve as a check on the rival theories. In the later coinage, Maurice's identification of a Constantinian mint at Tarragona, long since disproved, is here still retained, while it is unfortunate that *R.I.C. IX* by J. W. E. Pearce, dealing with late-fourth-century coinage, appeared, apparently, too late to be cited in this catalogue.

Such specialist criticisms, however, in no wise detract from our admiration of the cataloguer's industry and scholarship. The measure of this admiration is, that it would require a complete team of reviewers to do full justice to a catalogue of coins of so many and so diverse periods.

R. A. G. CARSON

Oud-België; van de eerste landbouwers tot de komst van Caesar. Van Dr. M.-E. MARIËN. 10×7. Pp. 528. 398 illustrations. Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1952. B.Fr. 320.

In this book Dr. Mariën, who is assistant curator at the Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels, gives us a picture of the development of civilization in Belgium from the first farming cultures onwards to the arrival of Caesar. He does not confine his interest to that part of the world which lies between the artificial frontiers of what is now called Belgium, but very sensibly he extends his view to the natural area comprising the Lower Rhine and certain parts of Holland and northern France. In this way he emphasizes the cultural relationship of the area between the rivers Marne and Rhine.

It is a matter for general congratulation that after so long a period since the publication of De Loë's catalogue of the archaeological collections of the Brussels Museum, at last a book has been produced which gives a comprehensive account of the succession of the different cultures in these regions. One of the greatest merits of Dr. Mariën's work is to have assembled a wealth of material—partly new, partly already published in some obscure local periodical—which up till now was known only to a very limited number of Belgian and foreign scholars, and to have integrated this material into the general background of European prehistory. The very fine quality of the drawings, many of which are from the pen of the author, and the great number of distribution maps—which contain valuable new data—add considerably to the scientific value of the book. The absence of footnotes in the text is fully made up for by almost fifty pages of 'scientific activity', a bibliography arranged per chapter and per region, with indications in which museum to look for the material dealt with.

All those who know Dr. Mariën's lucid scientific argumentations will no doubt regret that the scope of his book did not allow him to go into detailed discussions of certain problems, so that the reader is in general only given a picture of the most recent *results* of archaeological research. This

is certainly more than sufficient for the general public, but cannot always satisfy the specialist. It may therefore be of interest to recall here some of Dr. Mariën's articles which have no doubt thrown much light upon certain discussed points of Belgian archaeology; we refer *inter alia* to: 'La Civilisation des gobelets en Belgique', in *Bull. Mus. Roy. Art et Hist.* xx (1948), 16-48; 'Où en est la question des Champs d'Urnées?' in *L'Antiquité classique*, xvii (1948), 413-44; 'Silex et céramique des marchés néolithiques de Fagnolles et de Roly', in *Bull. Mus. Roy. Art et Hist.* xxi (1949), 2-16; 'Poteries de la civilisation de Seine-Oise-Marne en Belgique', in *Bull. Mus. Roy. Art et Hist.* xxii (1950), 79-85; 'Les bracelets à grandes oreillettes en Belgique, à l'âge du bronze final', in *Handel. Maatsch. Gesch. Oudh. Gent*, n.r. iv (1950), 41-77; and together with Professor Dr. S. J. De Laet, 'La nécropole de Lommel-Kattenbosch', in *L'Antiquité classique*, xix (1950), 309-66.

After an Introduction, in which the author gives a survey of the different auxiliary disciplines of archaeology and stresses the necessity for scientific excavations in Belgium, he devotes Chapter I to the Danubian culture, the so-called Omalien (2600-2300). He points out how very little influence this first incursion of neolithic farmers had upon the surrounding Tardenoisian people. Spiennes (Chapter II, 'Herdsmen and miners: the Michelsberg people; 2250-2000') is well known to British archaeologists due to its analogies with Grimes Graves. The spread of the Neolithic culture (2300-1600) is discussed in Chapter III, while Chapter IV deals with the Beaker people and the Megalith builders (2000-1600). An old drawing of the megalithic monument of Forrières shows six trilithons forming a circle. Excavations may discover here a continental counterpart to Stonehenge. Little is known about the Early and Middle Bronze Ages (1600-1100; Chapter V), but the description of the Belgian material of the Late Bronze Age (1100-650; Chapter VI) may be important in relation to the Deverel problem. A monograph by Dr. Mariën on the very important cemetery of Court-Saint-Étienne (Chapter VII: Early Iron Age, 650-450) is due for publication early next year. The concentration areas of the later historical tribes which become apparent during Early La Tène times (450-100; Chapter VIII) are archaeologically well defined in the last years before Caesar's conquest (100-57 B.C.; Chapter IX).

We can only end this short review by expressing the hope that vol. i (Palaeolithic and Mesolithic Times) will appear very soon, thus giving a complete archaeological picture of a country whose prehistory has remained in the dark all too long.

J. A. E. NENQUIN

Beiträge zur älteren Europäischen Kulturgeschichte. Festschrift für Rudolf Egger. 9½ x 9½. Band I, Pp. 434. Band II, Pp. 436. Edited by G. MORO. Klagenfurt: Verlag des Geschichtvereins für Kärnten, 1952-3. Price 200 Austrian schillings.

The first volume of this learned and copious *Festschrift*, like that which follows it, offers a rich feast of all kinds of archaeological material, worthy of the great scholar to whom it is a tribute and so wide that it merited an arrangement in periods and an index of the figures and plates which are published without numbers. Prehistorians will read with interest H. Müller-Karpe's article on an early Hallstatt burial near Villach in the eastern Alps, and will find even more important Gustav Behren's comprehensive treatment of late painted La Tène wares in the upper basins of the Danube and Rhine and in eastern France. F. Baš also describes a hill-fort and subsidiary spur works belonging to the first century B.C., and awkwardly situated on the Austrian-Yugoslav frontier at Bubenberg, near Spielfeld, in the Mur valley. In philological surveys, which bridge the gap between prehistory and history, A. Mayer discusses some Illyrian names of tribes and places used by Homer, while A. A. Barb discusses the goddesses Noreia and Rehtia, and F.

Benoit brilliantly connects Lucian's description of Ogmios with archaeological material. Ancient religion has indeed attracted many of the contributors, and three out of four Bulgarian scholars write on this theme: I. Welkow writes upon rock-summit shrines in Thracian religion, D. Zontschev publishes two reliefs on which Hercules and Dionysus are worshipped together by vine-growers, and P. Gorbanoff describes a marble statuette of Fortuna from Plovdiv. These subjects impinge upon classical archaeology, to which numerous valuable contributions are made. A. von Gerkan makes a short and lucid study of the natural configuration of the Palatine. M. Gelzer writes an interesting commentary upon the reasons for the desuetude of constitutional practice in magisterial elections as described in the Magliano inscription. D. Detschew publishes a Greek boundary stone of the second century B.C. from the Struma valley, two Roman Rider-god reliefs, a dedication to Zeus Zbelthourdos, and a remarkable building inscription of A.D. 430-1 from a gateway from Stan, Novi Bazar (now in Sofia), couched in fascinating Vulgar-Latin. Among Roman roads, the Via Appia from Rome to Otranto is treated in relation to itineraries and mileage by G. Lugli and the course of the Via Postumia (illustrated in two end-maps) by P. Fraccaro, in two important topographical papers. C. Anti comments upon an interesting relief of a theatre stage from Castel S. Elia, near Civita Castellana, while M. Abramić describes an intriguing series of Dalmatian copies of Greek sculpture. Three important papers discuss matters general to the Roman Empire. H. U. Instinsky traces the title *nobilissimus Caesar* to Commodus. H. von Petrikovits studies the *Lusus Troiae* and the Delian Crane-dance and brings them into suggestive connexion with the ceremonial evolutions of Roman cavalry and the masks they wore. J. Werner discusses open-work technique in first-century horse-trappings. With the Roman Empire north of the Alps are concerned four valuable studies: a treatise on Noricans in the Roman army of Britain by our Fellow, E. Birley; a comparative analysis of the pottery gate-model from Intercisa by F. Oelmann, who links it with the 'lantern-towers' of the Ashtead type and with a remarkable example from Xanten and explains all as cowls for funerary suffumigations; an inscribed leaden curse from Oescus is published by A. Degrassi; and D. M. Mayr offers a pleasant description of a small *nymphaeum* at S. Lorenzen im Pustertal. F. X. Lukman bridges the gap between Christian and pagan Rome by describing an interesting apotropaic baptismal rite noted by Tertullian. To the late Empire belong an important study by F. Fremersdorf of a later-fourth-century glass beaker exhibiting German life-guards (*protectores*) with Christian *vexilla*, and an account by A. Calderini of a fourth-century fort in the Milan suburb of S. Vittore. J. Klemenc describes a Gothic lady's grave of about A.D. 480 from Subotica.

The earlier and later middle ages are entered through their Church history. In church-planning E. Dyggve deals with the place of free-standing clergy-seats in the planning of the presbytery, while G. Brusin collects examples of altar-positions in early-Christian churches of the Veneto and Noricum: G. Bovini describes traces of erased figures in the pediment of the Palace of Theoderic in the mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna. E. Klebel compiles a dated list of the patriarchs of Aquileia. P. Glazema defines the earlier and later Romanesque churches at Elst (Gelderland), which overlie two successive Roman temples of Trajanic and later dates and were in turn overlaid by a fifteenth-century church. F. Stelè analyses two Slovene churches, dedicated respectively to St. Martin and St. George, out of the five on Sveti Gore, the holy hill near St. Peter-on-Sotla in Südsteiermark, and dates them to the eighth century. Finally, S. Radščić compares elements in decoration of the west portal of the cathedral at Gran with Serbian parallels or derivatives, and reaches the conclusion that this elaborate monument is due to East Roman influence.

The second volume contains articles contributed almost exclusively by Austrian scholars and archaeologists; of neighbouring lands Jugoslavia offers two, Germany and Switzerland one each. It is a very mixed bag, consonant with the wide learning and numerous friendships of the great

scholar to whom it is dedicated. Classical scholars will not wish to miss Egon Braun's treatment of Aristotle's analysis of magistrates' elections, O. Walter on the bosses on the masonry of the Erechtheum, A. Lesky on 'Amor and Dido', E. Polaschek upon Ptolemy's Noricum, W. Hahland's study of the Galatian princess Adobogiona and her very interesting political connexions, J. Weninger on the skull from an Augustan Heroön at Ephesus, J. Keil's comparison of the *iuventus* of Virunum with the *epheboi* of Ephesus, and H. Gerstinger's analysis of the fragment of *de amicitia* in the Graz MS. 1703/92. Philologists will note with interest E. Vetter on new Venetic inscriptions from Lägole. More purely archaeological papers are E. Sprockhoff's treatment of late Bronze Age bracelets with eyelet decoration, which reach the Marne but apparently come no farther westwards. K. Willvonseder contributes a thorough review of recent views and evidence concerning Celtic settlement in the Eastern Alps, while a valuable La Tène grave-group from Lower Austria is described by H. Ladenbauer-Orel. A very important helmet of the late first century B.C. with associated *fibulae* is studied by L. Franz. Ancient mining sites, mostly copper, are treated conjointly by E. Preuschen and R. Pittioni. In the field of religion, two important Adonis reliefs from Piber are analysed by A. Schober, while British students will enjoy R. Noll's study of *genii cucullati* from Aquileia, Scarabantia, and Bonn. L. Schmidt's paper on the female head-dress of Virunum misses much through lack of illustration, comparing unfavourably with D. Sergejevski's treatment of the Illyrian military cap. J. Kastelic discusses and illustrates an interesting head of Faustina II from north-west Macedonia, now at Ljubljana. There is a charming discussion of a human-headed jug from St. Pölten by B. Saria, who throws in a magnificent caricature from the Magdalensburg at Klagenfurt. Bronze mouldings for architectural decoration from Aguntum are treated by F. Eichler, while M. Hell describes an abortive attempt to manufacture Samian ware, from a Westendorf mould, at Loig, near Salzburg. Finally, there are four papers of interest to Roman historians: A. Neumann discusses the *corona aurea* as a Roman army decoration; A. Betz treats of Noricans in the Roman army and civil service; A. Hild deals with the early military occupation of *Brigantium* (Bregenz); and H. Deringer collects the Norican milestones, with some late texts of great interest.

The Dark Ages and earlier Middle Ages evoke some interesting papers. H. Thaller writes on the towns of Noricum as described in the Life of St. Severinus. G. Trathnigg treats of the fine collection of Merovingian stone coffin-lids at St. Jean, Poitiers. F. X. Zimmermann illuminates the history of Visigothic Italy by his study of the Princess Amalfrida Theodenanda's *titulus* at Genazzano. H. Mitscha-Marheim discusses the relations of Langobards and Slavs on the Austrian Danube. A. A. Schmid describes a newly excavated tenth-century church at Sursee (Canton Luzern), Switzerland. K. Oettinger deals with a ducal tombstone at Heiligenkreuz, assigned to Henry the Cruel and dated to 1227. W. Frodl describes a painted portable altar of about 1280 from Predlitz, now at Graz. F. Miltner's documentation for the history of Lavant in the Eastern Tyrol is of more local interest, but it is truly remarkable how wide is the general appeal of this diverse collection of tributes, many of which will appeal also to the wide interests of our society.

I. A. RICHMOND

The Coinage of Ancient Britain. By R. P. MACK. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. x + 151 + 29 plates. London: Spink & Son Ltd., 1953. 30s.

Commander Mack has provided in this short book a serviceable and clearly written guide to a field of coinage which has for a long time needed a brief, workmanlike introduction. Ancient British coins, though rare by any normal standard, are found more often than is, perhaps, generally supposed; and it will be of advantage to students in general that these pieces may now be given a

straightforward numerical classification in conjunction with distribution-maps and a series of twenty-eight excellent collotype plates. The endeavour was all the more worth making because the coinage of Ancient Britain, by the careful comparison of its narrowly differentiated types and the accurate recording of their widely varied find-spots, has contributed (with a generosity not always to be demanded from numismatics) a most remarkable volume of information about the historical archaeology of Britain between c. 75 B.C. and A.D. 43. But for the coins, our knowledge of the principalities and powers in Britain at this period of rapid flux and change would be dim indeed.

There may be some doubt, possibly, whether the author has cast his work in quite the right mould. He rightly remarks in his preface that knowledge of this branch of coinage has greatly increased since the original publication of Sir John Evans's *Coins of the Ancient Britons* in 1864. At the same time he observes that little has been written in recent years on the subject. Here one must, with all respect, demur; for the last twenty years, if they have seen only three notable papers devoted to Ancient British coinage, can justifiably claim that those papers—Brooke in *Numismatic Chronicle* and *Antiquity* for 1933, and Allen in *Archaeologia* for 1944—are of first-class importance. Yet Brooke is mentioned only once—and by name alone; Allen not at all. Nor is any indication given of the astonishing extent—implicit in the author's extremely welcome plate-concordance—to which all subsequent scholars are dependent on the original researches of Evans himself, especially in the face of such writers as Beale Poste. In other words, the present volume is on the one hand substantially (and pleasingly) more than an elementary introduction, and on the other hand disappointingly less than a working manual in so far as the new student is given no clue at all to the use of other works of greater detail or different proportion.

Nevertheless its value is clear and sound. The author writes in a simple and unencumbered style, yet can convey well (with the help of his keen eye for visual style) the differentiations and subtleties of this fascinating if short-lived coinage. As a result of this, and with his intimate knowledge of large numbers of specimens, he is able to demonstrate comparative chronology with a good measure of success, with arguments that are plainly stated and well based. It would, perhaps, have been an advantage if, repressing his obvious interest in Caesar's strategy and tactics, he had taken advantage of the space so gained to include, for example, some discussion of the extent to which Roman (and even 'Greek') coinage entered pre-Roman Britain, or of the means by which British silver and bronze coins (always less conservative in type than the gold) were impregnated by so strange a Greco-Roman-Celtic mixture of typological influences. Evidently southern Britain was not unfamiliar with Gallo-Roman art; it was not for nothing that the shrewd Augustus preferred the taxation of cross-Channel trade to the invasion of Britain. In particular the adoption of portrait-obverses challenges attention. Are any of these portraits to be regarded, in however formal a way, as the portraits of those whose names surround them—for instance, Tasciovanus (bearded?), Cunobeline (beardless, wreathed, and more romanizing?), and Boduoc? And finally some mention should surely have been made of the finds of British coins at Camulodunum, as published in the last great Hawkes-Hull *Report*, together with D. F. Allen's identification of the debris of a British mint.

To offer these criticisms is not a sign of ingratitude; far from it. This is a book with a long future value, welcome as much for its lucid treatment as for its distribution-maps and admirable plates. One might perhaps express the hope that a new edition will one day be called for. If so, its plan could, occasionally, be modified to advantage. Some of the underlying historical problems could be brought out. And—a purely technical point—the text might be more comfortably equipped with references in terms of the serial numbers of the coins under discussion in each introductory section.

C. H. V. SUTHERLAND

La Villa Romana de la dehesa de 'La Cocosa'. J. DE C. SERRA RÁFOLS. 10×7. Pp. 175. Badajoz (Disputación provincial de Badajoz, Institución de Servicios culturales), Revista de Estudios Extremeños, supplement 2. Badajoz, 1952.

This large and impressive villa is divided into four parts. The main house, ranged round a courtyard with peristyle and ornamental fountains, comprises some twenty rooms. It seems clear from the plan that it passed through at least two periods, though these are not in fact adequately distinguished on the drawing and hardly better in the text. To north-east lay an annexe containing sumptuous baths, supplied by a small aqueduct, while to south-east lay an industrial building, with remains of presses for olive-oil production. This building had been later drastically altered, while the space between the baths and the house had been occupied by a building with three apses, identified as a Christian basilica. The north-west end of the site is occupied by a further wing, recognizable as servants' quarter, stables, etc. A small tomb lies to north. Two hundred and fifty yards to south-east lay a group (*excavacion menor*) of very interesting family tombs, including a small Christian tomb-chapel and baptistery. Among minor features the most interesting are undoubtedly the press for olive-oil production, associated with a building containing many fragmentary amphorae, and a press thought to be for making *acetum*, which was found in trial trenches and not completely excavated. The *tepidarium* of the bath building yielded a spirited mosaic of a Triton blowing his horn, now at Badajoz. Those of the house were less distinguished, though a pretty representation of a partridge should be noted, together with a small foal surrounded by a laurel wreath. There are some remarkable, if very crude, life-size stucco heads, striking examples of local provincial art, which look like crude portraits but belong to wall-decorations in the Baths. Had the excavation been done sixty years ago, all this might have been considered a good result: but, since all stratified material has either been unobserved or neglected, *non nostri saeculi est*.

I. A. RICHMOND

The Roman Occupation of South-western Scotland, being reports of excavations and surveys carried out under the auspices of the Glasgow Archaeological Society. By JOHN CLARKE, J. M. DAVIDSON, ANNE S. ROBERTSON, J. K. ST. JOSEPH, edited for the Society, with an historical survey, by S. N. MILLER. 8½×6½. Pp. xix+246. Glasgow: Robert MacLehose & Co., The University Press, 1952.

These valuable topographical studies have been delayed by accidents of war and peace, while rapid new discoveries were made elsewhere. This entailed frequent rewriting of the editor's historical summary, now published after his death. S. N. Miller had a wide outlook, passing beyond provincial studies to embrace the Empire, and without his influence and teaching the book as it stands would hardly have appeared. It is in a sense his memorial in Scottish studies.

The prime contribution, however, is Dr. St. Joseph's study of the Roman roads, a model of its kind, important both locally and generally, to which Mr. Davidson's account of the Kelvin bridge forms an interesting tailpiece. Then come the forts. There are interim accounts of Milton (Tassiesholm), Castledykes, and Loudon Hill; and basic descriptions of Bothwellhaugh, Crawford, and Wardlaw, also of Durisdeer, Fairholm, Dalmakethar, and Barburgh Mill fortlets. Bothwellhaugh yielded an Antonine occupation of two periods in a fort big enough for 1,000 men; Crawford, less than half as big, also produced two periods of occupation. Wardlaw, like its medieval successor Caerlaverock, seems to have housed sea-borne supplies in bulk. Among the fortlets, only Durisdeer and Milton were excavated in detail, and they also were of two Antonine periods.

The historical summary is a valuable stock-taking. Even without recent discoveries in Gal-

loway and Renfrewshire, Miller's study sets the picture. More might perhaps be made of the consolidation of Agricola's work, while a date seems provided for the destruction early in Trajan's reign by the burnt coin-hoard of A.D. 98+ at Corbridge. The survey of the Antonine period valuably stresses the different history of the Antonine Wall and its hinterland. It seems, however, certain that the Nithsdale and Galloway forts go to Lollius Urbicus. The date of evacuation of the whole frontier must await better evidence. Miller, indeed, first suggested, in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, that Severus undertook a final occupation. But at the moment an occupation lasting till 197 is denied and one in 209-11 admitted on precisely the same coin evidence. The requisite is an Antonine Wall site in which relics of the three periods are abundant and are kept distinct: and this is not so easy as it sounds.

I. A. RICHMOND

La Vie quotidienne en Gaule pendant la paix romaine (Ier-III^e siècles après J.-C.). By PAUL-MARIE DUVAL. 8×5½. Pp. 364. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1952. Fr. 700.

This welcome book will be a valuable aid to students of life in the Roman world. It is packed with information, but pleasant to read; M. Duval's knowledge of his material is encyclopaedic, but he is never dogmatic, and he makes some valuable general observations. He accounts for the loyalty of the Gauls to Rome by the fact that 'Rome n'a ni persécuté les usages nationaux, ni traqué les libertés. . . . Loin de chercher à "diviser pour régner", Rome n'a cessé d'étendre au pays entier le contrôle pacifique d'une administration facilitée par un réseau de communications toujours amélioré.'

M. Duval discusses Gallo-Roman society, its structure and its language, and then passes on to houses, furniture, family life, trade and manufactures, life in town and country, the professions, amusements, and religion. He deals with an enormous number of small but fascinating problems, from the nature of the performances in the Gallo-Roman theatre to the question whether or not the ancient world had horseshoes (which he answers in the negative). To take a few points at random: he draws attention to the anonymity of the artists of Gaul, which contrasts so startlingly with the potters' widespread custom of stamping their names on their wares; he shares the opinion of Grenier that the Narbonne ship shown on the Portico of the Corporations at Ostia is unloading grain by means of a kind of elevator or crane, though another view is that the object in question is merely a second sail; he favours the view that the head-dresses worn by the Rhenish mother-goddesses are overgrown coiffures, rather than the large bonnets suggested by some students, though there is an object which looks very like a fastening on the head illustrated on pl. 70 of Fremersdorf's *Die Denkmäler des römischen Kölns* (1950).

The British reader, who is apt to see less with his inner consciousness than his French brother, may sigh for more pictures in addition to those excellent drawings of tools, etc., at the heads of chapters, but publishers have to consider costs. An index would have put us even more in M. Duval's debt, but there is an exhaustive Table of Contents and there are numerous, easily found notes with any amount of bibliographical material. One of the most satisfying features of the book is its large collection of references to Espérandieu's *Recueil des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine*, to which it serves as a most helpful commentary.

OLWEN BROGAN

Treasure in the Dust. Archaeology in the New World. By FRANK C. HIBBEN, Ph.D. 8½×5½. Pp. vii+280. London: Cleaver-Hume Press, 1953. 25s.

This book is a popular general introduction to the archaeology of the United States and the Eskimo area, but it does not deal, as its sub-title might suggest, with other parts of America, apart from two chapters on Mexico and the Maya. There are four introductory chapters which

describe the evidence for early man and the beginnings of agriculture, after disposing of the more fanciful alternatives to the Behring Straits as the route by which man first came to America. These are followed by a series of chapters in which the subject is dealt with by areas; in this way the Eskimo, the north-west coast, California, the main sub-divisions of the south-west, the plains, and the east are covered in an interesting, informative, and generally accurate way.

The two chapters on Central America, on the other hand, are unsatisfactory, and it would have been better to omit them than to attempt the impossible task of compressing an adequate account of Mexico and the Maya into so small a space. Not only are they insufficient but they contain mistakes, prominent among which is the ascription of Teotihuacan to the Toltecs. This error used to raise a false conflict between archaeology and the surviving aboriginal records, which constituted one of the greatest difficulties in Mexican archaeology, but it was exploded long enough ago to have been corrected in the postscript to the Pelican edition of Vaillant's *Aztecs of Mexico*. The book contains other blemishes, mostly minor in character when its scope is considered, and the style, though light and readable, includes expressions like 'glacial ice' which are not to be expected of a scientist. With these reservations, it is well worth reading.

G. H. S. BUSHNELL

Antiquities of the Irish Countryside. By SEÁN P. Ó'RÍORDÁIN. 8½×5½. Pp. 108. London: Methuen & Co., 1953. 15s.

Antiquities of the Irish Countryside was first published in 1942 by the Cork University Press; a second edition (which embodied only minor changes) was published in the following year, but that edition has for long been out of print. The present edition is in an entirely new and attractive format, is revised and brought up to date, and indeed contains many chapters that have been completely rewritten. The whole provides a short, clearly written guide to the field monuments of Ireland's prehistoric past which is invaluable for tourist, amateur archaeologist, and professional prehistorian. In the preface to the first edition Professor Ó'Ríordáin says that his 'booklet' was not intended for specialists in archaeology. This new edition may similarly not be meant for them, but they will use it because nowhere else will they get such authoritative, up-to-date, and lucid accounts of—to take a few subjects at random—crannogs, souterrains, and ancient cooking-places. It is excellently illustrated with 88 photographs arranged on 24 plates, and the photographs have been well selected to illustrate from ground and air all the main types of Irish field antiquities. The book is so good that one looks for possible improvements in future editions; more line diagrams, plans, and distribution maps (like the three pages of plans of megalithic tombs) would be helpful. The short section on megalithic tombs is particularly good; indeed it is the clearest and most convincing account of Irish megaliths yet published, and by itself is a model of compression and succinct exposition. Perhaps it is invidious to select one section for special mention; the sections on forts, souterrains, and crannogs are equally good and clear.

Now that this modest 'booklet' has become a fine book in its own right, we can see not only its value as a guide to Irish prehistory and the field antiquities of the Irish countryside, but its value as a pioneer effort in descriptive field archaeology. The antiquities of the English, Welsh, and Scottish countryside would well repay descriptive analysis such as Professor Ó'Ríordáin has given to the field monuments of his own country. Grinsell has studied and described our English barrows and Jacquetta Hawkes gives us a general topographical guide to the prehistoric monuments of the south British countryside; Ó'Ríordáin shows how descriptive analysis can be successfully achieved using as a basis the *Field Archaeology* notes which the Ordnance Survey have from time to time issued. Author and publisher have made such a good job of this present book that we thirst for more. What a lot many of us would give for a comparable work available now on the antiquities of the French countryside.

GLYN E. DANIEL

Danevirkestudier: en Arkæologisk-Historisk Undersøgelse. Af VILH. LA COUR. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 8 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 296. København: P. Hasse & Sons Forlag, 1951.

The Danevirke is the most imposing of all Danish monuments dating from Viking times. It consists of a great rampart or, rather, series of earthworks which cross Jutland from the Baltic to the flats bordering the North Sea coast. The importance of these defensive structures, defining Denmark's southern frontier in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D., has long been recognized and has inspired innumerable studies. The present book offers a critical analysis of the theories based on archaeological and historical research conducted over the past fifty years, and attempts a fresh assessment of the complex problems which surround the subject.

The author first reviews the findings of the Danish Commission appointed in 1901 to undertake a scientific examination of the great vallum. This commission, which included such leading authorities as Sophus Müller, Carl Neergaard, and Gustav Rosenberg, agreed that the eastern and western portions known as Gudfred's Østervold and Vestervold, respectively, were erected by King Gudfred in A.D. 808 against the Franks, as recorded in the *Annales regni Francorum*. The Vestervold, however, was greatly strengthened and largely obscured by Queen Tyre's defence system. The latter, built before A.D. 935, consisted of a rubble rampart extending from the impassable marshes of the Slien Fjord to the Danevirke *sø* and thence westwards to the region of low swampy ground along the coast. The construction of this rampart was necessitated by the unsettled conditions prevailing in the first half of the tenth century. The commission also dated the semicircular earth rampart south of the Slien to this period. This rampart enclosed the famous site of Hedeby, a Swedish trading colony eventually taken and sacked by Svein Forkbeard about A.D. 1000. This event led to the establishment of a new town, Slistorp or Slesvig, on the north bank of the Slien. With the incorporation in the Danish Kingdom of the area to the south of the Vestervold the Kovirke was erected in the eleventh century.

These views were not universally accepted. Professor E. Wadstein advanced the theory that Queen Tyre's rampart did not cover an older Vestervold and that the latter must be sought in the Kovirke. It was also argued that small finds discovered at Hedeby indicated occupation already in the ninth century and that the two names Slistorp-Slesvig and Hedeby referred to one and the same place. Support for this theory was advanced by Jahnkuhn in 1937, who believed that the rampart with V-shaped ditch (Kovirke) was older than that with open ditch or *Sohlgraben* (Vestervold).

The author, after critically examining the evidence, rejects the use of this typology and advances as a working hypothesis the following sequence:

- (1) The erection of the earliest sections of the Danevirke in A.D. 808.
- (2) The strengthening of the rampart undertaken in three building phases prior to A.D. 920.
- (3) Semicircular vallum round Hedeby together with the associated rampart linking this complex to the main defence system built about A.D. 920.
- (4) The rubble rampart is dated to the latter half of the tenth century together with Rampart 5 (Vold 5 at Hedeby).
- (5) The Kovirke is dated to the period immediately after A.D. 983, the date of Svein's victory over Otto.

It will be seen that the author's sequence, though in general agreement with that advanced by the commission, varies in important details. With regard to the settlements La Cour concludes that Slistorp-Slesvig was already established in the ninth century, with Hedeby as an offshoot or market and trading-centre on the south side of the Slien. The analytical chapters are illustrated by plans and sections from earlier works. The study provides an excellent basis for further discussion and the investigation of outstanding problems. A general plan of the Danevirke would have added greatly to the convenience of the reader.

J. R. C. HAMILTON

The Victoria County History of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely. Vol. IV. Ed. by R. B. PUGH. Pp. xvi + 280. London: Institute of Historical Research, 1952. 63s.

This volume deals with the topography of the City of Ely and the hundreds covering the Isle, which together have formed in recent years an administrative county within the bounds of Cambridgeshire. The *pièce de résistance* is naturally the history of Ely itself, and in particular the long account (pp. 50–82) of the cathedral and its satellite buildings by the late T. D. Atkinson. This, which is accompanied by five plans and several plates, is the work of an expert who had had a long and loving acquaintance with the fabric and its history. It does not supersede the same writer's elaborate monograph, published shortly before the late war, nor is it by any means a précis of the larger work. The cathedral is treated, member by member, as a living, growing organism, and the story of its transformation, embellishment, and disfigurement is carried down to the present day, without excessive emphasis on the golden age from c. 1320 to c. 1360. Some readers, perhaps, will be surprised to learn how much of the visible, superficial work in some celebrated parts of the building, such as the lantern, is in fact modern.

Not less valuable is Mr. E. Miller's study of the Liberty of Ely (pp. 1–27). This, it seems, originated in a grant of King Edgar c. 970; when Ely became a bishopric the monks retained the lesser manorial liberties of their estates, while the bishop took the higher rights—administrative, judicial, and financial—on all the hundreds of the Isle. Ely, in fact, fell short of Palatinate status (which was sometimes attributed to it) only because a few powers (e.g. of pardon and of judicial initiative) were retained by the Crown. Many of the liberties survived the Dissolution, and the Chief Justice and Chief Bailiff of the Isle were appointed by the bishop till 1836.

After Ely, the only town of note is Wisbech. This, by reason of its almost¹ unique layout with the river Nene flowing, so to say, down one of its main streets to set off some 'of the finest pieces of Georgian architecture in the country', has a character and beauty far surpassing any domestic architecture at Ely. The castle, also, has a niche in history as a 'concentration camp' of Catholic priests from 1580 to 1620. This section is illustrated by a number of excellent photographs of the 1850's, together with more recent ones which record buildings since altered or destroyed. This use of old photographs as historical documents will, we may hope, be used in other *Histories*.

The remainder of the volume is far from more disjointed, and one feels that the ideal formula for village topography has yet to be found. The sections make a scrambling start with miscellaneous information, indistinguishable from that supplied by Kelly's Directories, with particulars of street lighting and postal facilities and facts supplied by British Railways, and then abruptly provide a tough block of manorial history, followed by a description of the churches and schools. An exception may perhaps be made of the annals of Leverington and its environs, where the author, our Fellow Mr. G. M. G. Woodgate, is on his home pitch; it was disappointing to learn that no authentic association with Goldsmith could be established at the ancestral seat of the Lumpkins. Here and elsewhere there is much of interest both to the historian and to the merely curious. The present writer, as one in the second category, sought in vain for the *raison d'être* and exact date of construction of the marshalling yards at Whitemoor, rightly noted as 'the largest in England and among the largest in Europe'. British Railways, elsewhere so forthcoming, seem to have been silent here. He learnt, however (p. 117), the 'startling fact'—it would certainly have startled Hereward or Alan of Walsingham—that in 1931 the Isle of Ely had a greater percentage of its population (4·8, or about 22 per cent. of occupied males) engaged in railway work than any other county division of England save the somewhat unfair rival and neighbour, the Soke of Peterborough.

DAVID KNOWLES

¹ 'Almost', because the nearby Upwell and Outwell repeat the motif without grandeur.

The Victoria History of the Counties of England. Sussex, Vol. IV. The Rape of Chichester. Edited by L. F. SALZMAN. 12 x 8½. Pp. xvi + 240. Published for the University of London Institute of Historical Research by the Oxford University Press, London, 1953. Cloth 63s. Half-leather 84s.

Begun in 1939, and completed after a war-time interruption, this fourth volume of the *Victoria County History of Sussex* has been edited and largely compiled by Mr. L. F. Salzman. It covers the Rape of Chichester, but not the episcopal city, which has already been dealt with in vol. iii. The modern seaside resort of Bognor Regis, and the ancient seigniorial boroughs of Midhurst and Wythering, are the only other urban and quasi-urban elements in a predominantly rural scene. Of these, Midhurst, from 1278 onwards, is treated in some detail, but Wythering, a less successful speculation on the part of its archiepiscopal proprietors, is dismissed in half a dozen lines.

In scope and treatment the volume conforms to the established pattern of the *Victoria County Histories*. There is the same lavish description of architectural minutiae, the same concentration on the descent of the manor, the same lack of interest in agrarian history. And, as usual, only perfunctory notice is accorded to religious minorities. The dedications of their churches are not given; and while we learn, for example, that Cowdray, under the Montagues, remained for centuries a Roman Catholic stronghold, we are not told when or how it ceased to be so. To cavil at Mr. Salzman and his assistants for adhering to the general plan of these histories, as laid down half a century ago, would clearly be unjust, all the more so as their work in no way falls below the standard originally set. But a different and a broader conception of local history is now held in many quarters; and this being so, it is a matter for satisfaction that the *Victoria County Histories*, under the present editor-in-chief, are also on the point of widening their purview.

The volume is excellently illustrated. Among the reproductions of old drawings, two prints of Bognor in 1807 and 1823 are particularly agreeable. Plans of two villages, Singleton and Tangmere, drawn in 1798, are reproduced from a manuscript volume of surveys belonging to the Duke of Richmond; and they whet the appetite for more illustrations of this type. A plan of Midhurst, for example, would have helped to elucidate its rather complex topography.

H. P. R. FINBERG

The Castles of Great Britain. By SIDNEY TOY. 9 x 5¾. Pp. xviii + 276; 75 figures on 32 plates, with numerous plans and drawings in text. London: Heinemann, 1953. 25s.

In this book Mr. Toy has summarized the observations of a lifelong study of castles, devoted more particularly to the measuring and drawing of their standing remains. The text, which it is claimed describes the construction and history of all the important castles in Great Britain, is inevitably much compressed, and where fuller accounts of individual buildings are available the student will still wish to turn to them. The book opens with what, in view of its compass and the high proportion of space given over to illustration, are three necessarily cursory chapters on Prehistoric, Roman, and Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon Fortifications, all of which would seem to lie outside the terms of reference indicated by its title. Towards the end are no less abbreviated sections on Weapons and Siege Operations and on Towns, Fortified Bridges, and Churches. All these accounts are too slight to be of great value, yet together they occupy more than one-fifth of the narrative. One feels that the usefulness of the book for the serious reader might have been increased if this space had been used in providing the rest of it with an adequate *apparatus criticus*. As it is, the author makes apparently arbitrary pronouncements, especially as to date, for which no source or evidence is offered. Sometimes they are demonstrably inaccurate, as in

the case of the date and sequence given for Beaumaris on p. 174; sometimes they would be better frankly stated as not proven, as with the unqualified dating of Chepstow keep to about 1070 (pp. 78, 161), or of Odiham to about 1160 (p. 103). The almost entire absence of footnotes to expand or substantiate points stated in the text as facts, while it may not diminish the interest of the book for the uncritical reader, may well shake the confidence of the specialist.

The book's most notable feature is its lavish illustration. There are over 70 half-tones, some rather small but most of good quality, and more than 120 line blocks of plans and sections from Mr. Toy's own surveys. It is the gathering of this corpus of drawings into a single volume which gives the work its special value, and there will be gratitude to author and publisher alike for making so much graphic material available at so moderate a price. The plans are, however, subject to certain drawbacks. Almost all are block plans: even where a castle has a complicated building development, e.g. Ludlow (p. 76), Dover (p. 98), or Kenilworth (p. 137), the plan gives no indication of it. Some have been partly superseded by information published since they were drawn; those of Harlech and Conway, for example, would have benefited from revision in the light of papers published in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* in 1940 and 1941 respectively. Others show features that either never existed at all, e.g. a water-filled moat at Goodrich (p. 176), or else show them in a form which is wholly conjectural without this fact being made clear, e.g. the encircling wet moat at Caernarvon (p. 171)—highly improbable on account of the levels, the extent of the moat at Skenfrith (p. 109), or the form of the moat at Caerlaverock (p. 178). Others, again, are incomplete; the Flint plan (p. 166) gives no hint of the existence of the outer ward, while the Harlech gatehouse section (p. 242) omits the surviving thirteenth-century turrets and chimneys.

The principal part of the book, dealing with castles from the Norman Conquest to 1500, adopts a treatment that is partly chronological and partly topical. It is an achievement to have welded brief descriptions of so many diverse structures into a continuous account, and few castles of major interest are overlooked. The omission of, for example, Carew, Lancaster, Oxford, or Raglan, is offset by useful notes on less well known buildings like Kiessimul or Penrice. Amongst Mr. Toy's more challenging assertions is his claim that the keep at Canterbury was built by the Conqueror in about 1080 and not, as hitherto held, by Henry II in c. 1172-4. The conflict between this interpretation and that of Mrs. Armitage deserves the most careful and thorough investigation of all relevant documentary and archaeological evidence. If Mr. Toy could be proved right, added weight would be given to his view (p. 72) that many Pipe Roll references to castle works in the period after 1160, formerly taken as supplying a reliable date for the construction of the buildings in question, relate on the contrary to the repair of structures that should rightly be dated a good deal earlier.

A number of errors may be noted for correction in a future edition. Silchester (p. 11) was not a Roman fort. Ambrosius Aurelius (pp. 25, 27) should be Ambrosius Aurelian. Odericus (pp. 26, 38, 54, 60, 75) should be Ordericus. For Jumiège (p. 37, n.) and Jumiége (p. 42, n.) read Jumièges, and for Moritionensis (p. 51) read Moritonensis. Archaeologia (pp. 34, 86) should read Archaeologia. Aostia (p. 144) refers presumably to Ostia and not to Aosta. On p. 155 'borders' appears instead of 'bonders'. Caldecot (p. 232) should be Caldicot, as on pp. 109 and 273, and Pleshley (p. 257) should be Pleshey.

A. J. TAYLOR

Scottish Castles of the 16th and 17th Centuries. By OLIVER HILL, with an Introduction by CHRISTOPHER HUSSEY. 13×10. Pp. 280. London: Country Life, 1953. £6. 6s.

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It was an excellent idea of *Country Life* to gather together and publish this superb series of photographs illustrating the wonderful efflorescence of Scottish baronial architecture under the

later Stewarts. No praise indeed can be too high for the illustrations, which will form a permanent record of the unique achievement of Scottish castellar construction during the remarkable Indian summer of her middle ages, which was an outcome of the northern realm's peculiar political history and religious and social development.

It is the more regrettable that these lovely pictures were not entrusted to a competent interpreter. Mr. Hill possesses neither the background of Scottish history nor the knowledge of Scottish architecture requisite for his task. What he has given us is a piece of scissors-and-paste work, ill done at that, culled from the monumental volumes of MacGibbon and Ross. Certainly this will always remain the fundamental work for students of Scottish architecture. But it is over sixty years since these volumes were published: and in the interval much has been learned and written of which Mr. Hill displays no knowledge. So of castle after castle his descriptions are out of date. Thus what he writes about Hermitage Castle is nonsense: his interpretation of Fyvie Castle has long been discarded: of Castle Fraser he reproduces the shockingly inaccurate sketches made by Skene of Rubislaw for Sir Walter Scott, although a detailed survey of this noble building has long been in existence.

Space forbids me to set forth the historical blunders which disfigure almost every page. A particularly irritating feature, recurring again and again, is the garbled transcripts of Scottish documents and of inscriptions on the castle walls. In some cases these are rendered unintelligible. The result is not seldom seriously misleading: for example Barcaldine Castle is postdated by a hundred years. How gross is the bungled heraldry of the Edzell garden wall! And when we read about the 'silvery whiteness of the stonework' of this castle—built of blood-red freestone—one can only conclude that Mr. Hill has never seen it. Still more, the summer-house and garden wall were not built by the ninth Earl of Crawford but by his son, Lord Edzell; and of the German sources of his carved work Mr. Hill knows nothing. Slapdash transcription reaches its climax in the account of the painted ceiling at Stobhall, where we are told the 'Emperor of Germany, *Rex Mauretanae* [sic] is mounted on an elephant'! A partisan is not an angle turret—that was an ancient blunder of Sir Walter Scott. The medieval partisan was the whole defensive war-head of a castle: the angle turrets were known in Scotland as 'rounds'. 'In this stubborn granite country', we are told, 'detail was reduced to a minimum.' Yet it is in granitic Aberdeenshire that we find the most riotously exuberant of all our decorated castles. But it is time to call a halt to the unhappy catalogue. For all its splendid aspect, and in full recognition of the permanent value of the illustrations, this book can be described only as a lost opportunity.

W. DOUGLAS SIMPSON

Monmouthshire Houses. A Study of Building Techniques and Smaller House-plans in the Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries. Part II. Sub-Medieval Houses, c. 1550-1610. By SIR CYRIL FOX and LORD RAGLAN. 10 x 8½. Pp. 135. Cardiff: The National Museum of Wales, 1953. 17s. 6d.

It is not often that students of social history and architecture can feel the pleasure of the Victorian novel reader, eagerly opening the latest instalment of a Dickens novel. The second part of *Monmouthshire Houses* fulfils all the expectations aroused by the first. Some 160 houses are examined and dated to the years 1560 to 1610. They are illustrated by photographs, and by fifty-two figures of plans, sections, and details of woodwork; they are compared in plan, and their distribution is shown in two maps. This sub-medieval group is, with very few exceptions, remarkably homogeneous; the variations are those to be expected at a time of rapidly rising standards, and the whole group is confined to the 'broad central lowlands' of the county.

One of the most important conclusions of Part I was that the introduction of a chimney in

place of a central hearth antedated the insertion of chambers over the ground-floor rooms. The 'Regional' house has, therefore, a chimney at one gable end, flanked by entrance door and staircase, and has at the other end a wooden partition to make a second room which is in some cases further subdivided. A small number of houses has another room beyond the fireplace gable, separated from it by a through passage. These houses provoke much wider consideration than those of Part I, because of the greater quantity of building revealed, the change in material from timber to stone, and the elaboration of the plan. The increased pace of new building is linked by the authors with the price revolution of the sixteenth century, from which primary producers particularly benefited. It is possible that the emphasis on arable farming ought to be modified. Specialization in sheep- or dairy-farming on suitable soils is more than likely, and there is at least one reference to the export of butter from the county in Tudor times to balance Defoe's words about its 'great Quantities of Corn for Exportation'.¹ Any discussion of the change in building materials is, as the authors say, inconclusive pending surveys, as thorough and enlightened as this one, of such areas as Gloucestershire and south Herefordshire.

It may be doubted whether the desire for privacy in domestic life which the authors, following other writers on domestic architecture, regard as the motive for the elaboration of the plan was as widespread as they believe. Farmers have never been so anxious to separate themselves at their meals or in their short hours of leisure from the men with whom they worked all day. On the other hand, the increased scale and complexity of farming operations, aimed at the market and not at mere subsistence, called for room for storage of corn and wool, and for the wide variety of wooden vessels used in dairy farming. In these circumstances the third room on the ground floor can safely be regarded as dairy, milkhouse, or kitchen, to use the terms current in the east midlands at this period. The inner room must have served as a sleeping-room (or rooms) for family or servants, and may safely be called a parlour even in the many instances where it was no more than 8 ft. wide and had no fireplace. The only clear instances of the effect of a desire for privacy are the three houses (named on p. 59) in which the parlour had a fireplace and its own stair to the room above. For the upper rooms, which the authors call bedrooms, the contemporary term 'chamber' is perhaps more satisfactory, because it does not appear to exclude their use for storage.

This survey is tackling problems both architectural and sociological which have never been studied before, and no better pioneer study could be wished for. Only one slip has been noticed; on p. 95 the reference to Plate xxi A should be to xxi C.

M. W. BARLEY

Follies and Grottoes. By BARBARA JONES. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. xii + 264. London: Constable, 1953. 40s.

Since the word 'folly' implies eccentricity, if not actual madness, one could wish that Miss Jones had avoided its use in the title of her book. For while she includes a few splendid examples of true *folie* in architecture, to wit, Jezreel's Tower or Hadlow Castle, many of the exquisite little buildings which she describes were the work of entirely rational beings. No one knew better than the eighteenth-century owner that in landscaping his garden its ultimate success was dependent on variety. To this end he dammed rivers, piled up hills, cleared, sowed, and planted; and when particular emphasis was called for, he would set up a piece of garden architecture. These features might be grave or gay according to their context, modelled on classical temples or inspired by Gothic remains, but all played a common part in enlivening the scene. To regard 'pavilions . . . gothic summerhouses and oriental kiosks' as garden architecture, and therefore not eligible for inclusion with bath-houses and hermits' cells, is to create an artificial distinction which results, for example, in William Kent's eye-catcher at Rousham being singled out for mention while the rest of his buildings in that remarkable landscape are omitted. Having made this quibble over

¹ Catalogues of MSS. relating to Wales, Pt. I, 3045; *Tour through England and Wales* (Everyman), ii, p. 52.

the Follies, let it at once be said that Miss Jones is a prodigious and admirable recorder of Grottoes. These stand in a class of their own, for although many belong to eighteenth-century landscape layouts, the fascination of assembling spar and shell, tufa and flint, began much earlier and continued for at least 300 years quite independent of fashions in gardening. The derivation of the English grotto from its Italian prototype is an intriguing subject which may some day receive the study which it deserves: in the meantime Miss Jones's book provides a timely and valuable record of these works of art which, by nature of their fragile decoration, are all too often the victims of time, the elements, and hooligans—particularly the latter. DOROTHY STROUD

The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal. An English Manuscript of the late XIV Century in the British Museum (Additional 29704-5, 44892). By MARGARET RICKERT. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. 151 + pls. 56. London: Faber & Faber, 1952. 70s.

This book describes the partial reconstruction of one of the finest manuscripts of the late fourteenth century from some 1,600 initials which had been cut out and pasted into scrapbooks about the year 1827. A study of the historiated initials showed that they came from a Missal, while the fact that small figures of Carmelite friars are introduced into some of the scenes suggested that it came from a Carmelite house, probably Whitefriars, London. These historiated initials were first placed in order according to the feasts to which they belonged, but the arranging of the far larger number, which have only leaf-work decoration, entailed the tedious work of comparing the words and fragments of words on the backs with other contemporary texts. A close correspondence between these textual fragments and the wording of the Carmelite Ordinal of 1312 was observed. Luckily it was possible to recover the format of the original and to show that the different parts of the Masses were introduced by initials of a given size according to a definite plan. It was also clear that the manuscript was in quaternions and that the eight-page quires had been given out to various craftsmen for decoration. At this point the initials were handed to the Museum bindery, where they were most skilfully inlaid in pages of the required size so that no scrap of evidence was concealed.

By studying the initials Miss Rickert is able to distinguish six hands working in three distinct styles; most of these artists were probably laymen engaged especially to work on the Missal, but one, whom she calls Hand C and who introduced the figures of Carmelite friars, may have belonged to the Order. His style is derived from that of the manuscripts illuminated for members of the Bohun family about 1370 and has its roots in East Anglian art of the early fourteenth century. She considers that the style of Hand B is similar to that of the *Liber Regalis* and supports the theory that it was evolved under the influence of artists who came to England in the train of Anne of Bohemia. Hand A seems to have had a truly international background, for, while French, Italian, Bohemian, and Burgundian influences can be traced in his work, he was apparently a Dutchman employed at one time by the Duke of Gelder. In his later years Miss Rickert thinks he may have worked on the Turin-Milan Hours and thus have had contacts with the young Hubert van Eyck and the beginnings of the northern renaissance.

In the course of this discussion of the three styles in the Missal Miss Rickert lays down a much-needed basis for the study of English illumination of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Even more important, however, is the illustration which her study of the Missal gives of the importance of regarding liturgical, palaeographic, iconographic, and stylistic evidence as truly complementary. For this reason her book is a landmark in the development of medieval studies.

The book is beautifully printed and generously illustrated, but most readers would willingly sacrifice the four coloured plates with their ugly yellow backgrounds for one illustration, however small, in which the gilding of the original was reproduced.

A. BAKER

Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales. By DAVID KNOWLES and R. NEVILLE HADCOCK. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. xiv + 387 and 6 maps. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1953. 42s.

The Religious Houses of Medieval England by David Knowles (1940) was reviewed in vol. xxii of this journal. It has long been out of print. In 1950 the Ordnance Survey published two maps of *Monastic Britain* compiled by Mr. Neville Hadcock on the scale of ten miles to the inch, reviewed in vol. xxxi. Professor Knowles and Mr. Hadcock have collaborated in the production of a much bigger book; it is the fruit of many years of research by both authors. Important additions are lists of the houses of the Knights Templars and the Knights Hospitallers, of the hospitals (pp. 250–324) and of secular colleges (pp. 325–45). As more calendars of the Chancery Rolls are issued by the Public Record Office and more cartularies and documents of religious houses are printed by local record societies and other bodies, dates and facts may be altered or definitely confirmed. The authors are aware that the book may contain errors. They invite those who use the lists for help in detecting them and they undertake to issue a small supplementary volume of corrections, and it may be presumed of some additions. A reference to *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century* by Beatrice Lees (British Academy, 1935) should be included; it throws new light on the organization of the Templars' lands and in some instances gives more precise dates than in the reign of Stephen. The London Templars sold the Old Temple to the bishop of Lincoln in 1161, they had moved to the New Temple more than twenty years before 1184. The question whether some small nunneries in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire should be described as Cistercian or Premonstratensian is left unsettled (p. 176). An entry on the Close Roll of 54 Henry III has escaped notice. It is a letter addressed to the dean of Lincoln by the abbot of Citeaux dated from the general chapter stating that though the six abbesses wore the habit of the Order they did not belong to it and were not entitled to any of its privileges or liberties. The letter follows on a decree of the general chapter of Citeaux of 1268. In a revision of the list in the 1940 edition more research has been undertaken on the difficult subject of the alien priories. The reason why Scarborough alone of the Cistercian dependencies was penalized as an alien priory is that Richard I gave the rectory to the abbot of Citeaux to provide for abbots who came to the yearly general chapter at the mother house. As the Hundred Years War continued the attendance of the English abbots ceased. The list of secular colleges is the first complete and accurate account to be compiled. It includes those cathedral churches which were not Benedictine monasteries, the great minsters of the province of York, other minsters founded before the Norman Conquest, royal free chapels, collegiate foundations of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and colleges of chantry priests. References in the footnotes should be made to illuminating studies by Professor Hamilton Thompson, 'Notes on Colleges and Secular Canons in England' and 'The Statutes of the College of St. Mary and All Saints Fotheringham' (*Archaeological Journal*, vols. lxxiv and lxxv) and to colleges of chantry priests in his *The English Clergy* (1947). *The Collegiate Church of Ottery St. Mary* by Canon Dalton should be added. It should be noted that the hospital of St. Anthony's Threadneedle Street in London was dependent on S. Antoine de Vienne in the foothills of the mountains of Dauphiné, not in the city of Vienne. The manor of Deene in Northamptonshire, given to Westminster Abbey before the Norman Conquest, was leased to tenants from 1215 or earlier.

In all the lists four different symbols on the left of the names denote that they are in charge of the Commissioners of Works or on Crown property, or are scheduled as an Ancient Monument, that the church or parts of it is in ecclesiastical use, or that there are remains of importance, sometimes private, or incorporated in mansions or farms and not necessarily open to the public. It is significant that though many of the secular colleges lost their endowments, a large number of their churches remain in use. A few errors may be noted. Beaulieu is a private property, not in the charge of the Commissioners of Works. The church of Horkesley was destroyed by a

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flying-bomb, the ruins of Mendham were demolished some years ago, the ruinous and partly roofless church of Stanesgate, long in use as a barn, has been demolished since in 1923 it was described in the Royal Commission on South-East Essex. The symbol against Sempringham is surely a misprint: the site of the great church was found by excavation in 1939 and completely covered in and crops have covered it. It is, however, Crown property.

ROSE GRAHAM

A Handlist of the Records of the Bishop of Lincoln and of the Archdeacons of Lincoln and Stow.
Compiled by KATHLEEN MAJOR, F.S.A. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. xvi + 122. Geoffrey Cumberlege.
Oxford University Press, 1953. 16s.

Lincoln is the first diocesan Record Office for which a handlist of the records has been published. In the preface Miss Major pays a just tribute to the work of the late Canon C. W. Foster, a Fellow of this Society, who took the initiative in making the records more easily available to students; he left a typescript list which was revised and much enlarged by Miss Major, sometime archivist to the bishop of Lincoln. The list begins with the long series of episcopal rolls and registers; an indication of the contents with folio references tells the searcher where to look. Progress has been made in printing some of the records, in volumes begun by Canon Foster and Professor Hamilton Thompson and followed by younger scholars. The miscellaneous collection of records supplementary to the register is clearly described, among them visitation books and papers, churchwardens' presentments, the series of *Libri Cleri* containing lists of the clergy bound to appear at visitations, and the records of courts. Wherever any of the miscellaneous material has been described or printed, full references are given to the publications. Lists of the bishops of Lincoln and of their possessions, of the archdeaconries and deaneries of the great medieval diocese are given in appendixes. There is a good index as a further aid to students of local history and of genealogy.

ROSE GRAHAM

Dictionary of British Sculptors, 1660-1851. By RUPERT GUNNIS. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7$. Pp. 514. London:
Odhams Press, 1953. £3. 3s.

The serious study of Post-Reformation sculpture in England has been beset by peculiar difficulties. The wholesale purging of English churches during the nineteenth century of many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century monuments (the former being baroque and therefore popish, the latter neo-classic and therefore pagan) was countenanced without apparent protest, and the accident of survival seems to have been dependent either on lack of funds for removal or on the influence of a great family. The material that remains, scattered in village churches, has often been subject to wanton alteration and resetting in, for instance, almost complete darkness, and is frequently covered with dust. Even today, vicars are sometimes unsympathetic to inquiry about such monuments and have been known to refuse permission to photograph them. Other equally important works, particularly portrait busts and sculptured fireplaces, are to be found in private houses, and the documents, if they exist, whereby they may be identified are constantly elsewhere. Owners are usually co-operative, though often hampered by ignorance, and the problems of photography in private houses are great.

Furthermore, the notable work done by the late Mrs. K. A. Esaile towards the establishment of the whole subject as a field of serious study was never brought to full fruition. Her enthusiasm enabled her to overcome many of the difficulties outlined above, and she published in a

disturbingly wide range of periodicals a number of important and stimulating papers. No student can afford to neglect her writings. Failing health, however, prevented her from assembling in final form the result of her researches; her books are but a tantalizing indication of her great knowledge, and there is at present no comprehensive introduction to the subject.

Mr. Gunnis's *Dictionary* is therefore something of a landmark. In it he has recorded a vast number of signed or documented works, bringing to light endless new names of sculptors and craftsmen hitherto unrecorded. He has had access to the muniments of many great families and has found new contracts, he has read the papers of public bodies, searched the volumes of eighteenth-century antiquarians, and has visited more churches than the imagination can grasp. His enthusiasm and his endurance have been well rewarded, for all future students of English sculpture must constantly consult his work.

The entries, which naturally vary in type and completeness, consist usually of a biographical note which includes bibliographical references (not always quite complete) to new sources and a chronological list of dated works. The author states categorically that no attributed works are included. Unfortunately the form chosen for the entry does not make a clear distinction between the signed and the documented work, nor is it always certain when a date is given whether it is part of the signature or merely the death date of the owner of the monument. And some errors have crept in, chiefly at points where the author has accepted statements published in secondary sources—for instance the death date of Grinling Gibbons is quoted from the *Dictionary of National Biography* as 1720, whereas Vertue recorded it as 3rd August 1721 (Vertue, i, 78). Nevertheless, the great value of the book stands, for it is the first serious attempt at a corpus on which further work may be done and an historical survey and stylistic analyses may be based. It is perhaps disappointing that the corpus starts at 1660, for from an historical point of view the inclusion of the early part of the seventeenth century might well have been of more value than the great mass of nineteenth-century material—but let us be grateful for what we have got!

The plates, which have presumably been included to whet the appetite, are unequal. They are skilfully chosen to cover a wide range of works, many of them little known, and include some admirable photographs, while others are strangely inadequate. The indexes of names and of places are very full, but a further topographical index under counties would be of great value.

M. D. WHINNEY

The London Furniture Makers from the Restoration to the Victorian Era, 1660-1840. By SIR AMBROSE HEAL. With a chapter by R. W. SYMONDS, F.S.A., on the problem of identification of the furniture they produced, etc. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. xx+276. London: Batsford, 1953. £6. 6s.

This is a reference book essential for all interested in the history of English furniture. For many years Sir Ambrose Heal has been preparing a card-index of cabinet-makers and other craftsmen allied to the furniture trade compiled from early trade cards, billheads, advertisements, directories, etc. From this index he has printed 2,500 names out of a possible 4,000. How great an extension of our previous knowledge of the subject this represents may be judged by comparing it with Edwards and Jourdain's *Georgian Cabinet Makers*, hitherto the most complete list of master craftsmen in the English furniture trade, which deals with only eighty individuals. It is true that Edwards and Jourdain give fairly full particulars of the activities and productions of each craftsman they deal with, whereas in the great majority of cases Sir Ambrose is able to add little more than the address, rough working-dates, and an occasional reference to recent literature to the names he lists. Nevertheless the book's usefulness extends far beyond a mere list of names. It sheds valuable light on a number of aspects of the history of English furniture: on the areas of

London in which the craftsmen congregated at different times, for example, or the demand, persistent throughout the period, for French furniture, which was only partially satisfied by the few French craftsmen who were always to be found here.

A large number of the trade cards are reproduced; the rococo ones especially are often highly decorative. Moreover, they add considerably to the information in the text when, for instance, they display the changing forms of common furniture, depict the little-known multifunctional or folding furniture devised for servants of the East India Company and other travellers to distant parts or add to our knowledge of the technical vocabulary of the period.

In a final chapter Mr. Symonds examines the practical application of Sir Ambrose's researches. As is well known, the makers of individual pieces of furniture are occasionally identifiable by printed tradesmen's labels found attached to them (interestingly enough, two-thirds of the surviving examples of this practice are due to minor craftsmen working in the area of St. Paul's churchyard). Such clues as these, combined with the discreet use of stylistic interpretation, can sometimes extend our knowledge of the work of individual craftsmen. But labels cannot always be trusted; cases are known where false labels have been applied by unscrupulous dealers to enhance the value of a piece of furniture.

F. J. B. WATSON

Monumental Brasses. By REV. HERBERT W. MACKLIN, D.D. With a Preface and revision by CHARLES OMAN. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$. Pp. 196. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1953. 12s. 6d.

This is an ill-advised and unsatisfactory edition of an outdated manual, and Mr. Oman, in accepting the publisher's commission to revise Mr. Macklin's book, has done nothing to enhance his reputation amongst antiquaries. The text throughout is that of the 1913 edition, save that Mr. Oman has revised the bibliography, inserted a most incomplete list of war casualties, and added a preface.

It is difficult to find any method in Mr. Oman's selections for the county authorities, under Bibliography. Under 'Bedfordshire', for example, Thomas Fisher's two books, *Bedfordshire Collections* and *Monumental Remains*, are omitted, yet the atrocious work by Grace Isherwood is inserted. Thomas Fisher, a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, was easily the most accurate antiquarian draughtsman of his period, far surpassing Cotman in his delineation of brasses. If Cotman be included, why not Fisher? It cannot be on the score of inclusion of some illustrations other than brasses, for Roger's *Sepulchral Effigies* of Devon and Chancellor's *Sepulchral Monuments* of Essex are both included. Dorset, moreover, has no representation, yet there is a series of articles by W. de C. Prideaux in the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club's *Proceedings*, and other county societies' journals containing articles are in the list. The *Brasses of Worcestershire*, in five parts with an index, was not in Macklin's 1913 list, since it was written some fifteen years later; it is not in this list. And if Beloe's *Westminster Abbey* be accepted, why should Page's admirable article on St. Alban's Abbey be rejected?

It is good to have subsections for foreign, technical, and artists, though under the latter, if Mrs. Esdaile's *List of Brasses of Known Authorship* is inserted, it seems only sensible to add the list of additions and corrections issued in 1946 as a separate article.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Oman did not think to consult the editors of the Monumental Brass Society before he printed his admittedly incomplete list of war casualties. Under 'Essex' should be added the group of four sons (one an abbot) and the woman's scroll, from the brass to William Lucas, c. 1460, at Wenden Lofts, stolen. Under 'Kent': at Bromley all the brasses were damaged and one lost; at Little Chart the pitiful remains are now at Charing; at New Romney the figure of Richard Stuppenye, 1622, was stolen; at Lydd the brasses were rescued from the wrecked chancel

and are still hung by nails on the wall of the mission hall; at Hawkhurst the inscription to Elizabeth Reaynoldes, 1612, buckled and blown loose by blast, came to security eventually in the hands of the Monumental Brass Society, was found to be palimpsest, and returned to the custody of the rector. Under 'Norfolk', the brass to Peter Vertegans 1633, from St. Benedict's, is now in the St. Peter Hungate Museum. Under 'Sussex', half a shield from the Braose brass at Wiston was stolen. At Swansea, in south Wales, a few battered pieces remain of what was the finest brass in Wales.

It is possible that the terms of his contract with the publishers precluded Mr. Oman from alterations of Macklin's text. If so, it was a bad error. In most cases the blocks for the illustrations (the same as used by Macklin) have felt the last fifty years severely, and some of them, printed on the paper of the present edition, convey little beyond a series of black smudges. Macklin was prone to illustrating part of a brass, and describing it as the whole, a fault quite uncorrected here; moreover, some ascriptions could have been rectified, for example, Dr. Tanner in 1949 proved that the foreign brass at North Mymms was to William de Kesteven, vicar there from 1349 to 1361, yet it is still described as Thomas de Horton.

The only part of this edition that plays any serious part in the modern study of brasses is Mr. Oman's preface. In this, after writing that there is no risk of the novice being led seriously astray, some space is devoted (lest he should) to the modern English, as well as continental, ideas as to the origins of brasses, nowadays generally accepted as in the Low Countries. Contracts for brasses to be made at Tournai, for example, were instanced in the *Antiquaries Journals* for 1949, and, had Mr. Oman studied the subject in more detail, he could have found, with this English reviewer, that continental writers who attribute the foreign brasses to Bruges in particular were wrong in not dealing also with Tournai.

It is good that Mr. Oman recognizes the existence of a French Low Country school of engravers, whose work can only be studied now in the drawings of De Gagnières, but it is not so good to find him writing 'Sir John Northwode and lady at Minster-in-Sheppey', when thirty years or more ago it was shown that these two effigies belong to separate monuments, and are so listed in Griffin and Stephenson's *Monumental Brasses in Kent*.

There is still a real need for a new manual on Monumental Brasses, and of a competent authority to write it.

R. H. D'ELBOUX

A History of Jewellery, 1100-1870. By JOAN EVANS. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 240+pls. 176. London: Faber & Faber, 1953. £5. 5s.

After her recent works on English and French medieval art Miss Joan Evans turns to the particular, to the subject which she has made very much her own, jewellery. Having already contributed important studies of magical jewels and English jewellery she attempts a comprehensive survey of European jewellery within the limits which she has set herself: the beginning, 'when the cycle of European economic life once more made it possible for artistic creation to break through the shackles of tribal tradition'; the end, when at the fall of the Second Empire in France in 1870 court patronage, which had made Paris the centre of decorative arts, ceased, and when mechanically produced settings and the commercialization of jewellery consequent on the plentiful supply of South African diamonds marked the beginning of mass-production.

It is purely as a decorative art that jewellery is considered; *orfèvrerie* not applied to personal ornaments is almost entirely excluded; finger-rings, strictly ecclesiastical jewellery, and knightly insignia are omitted as requiring more extended treatment.

The periods previous to that which Miss Evans treats have been the subjects of special studies in recent years, and only a brief summary is given. At the other extremity Mrs. Flower's *Vi-*

torian Jewellery carries on the story, as far as England is concerned, to the end of the Queen's reign.

The early middle ages are extended to the end of the thirteenth century, and it is perhaps strange to find included the Salting thorn-reliquary in the British Museum traditionally associated with St. Louis, the enamels of which, however, suggest the early fourteenth century. The period produced mainly small objects, notably the interesting series of inscribed and other ring-brooches and settings for antique cameos.

The remainder of the middle ages was a period of luxury, especially in the French court and that of Edward II in England, where the wearing of jewels was, by statute, a mark of rank. Jewelled crowns, collars, belts, and many varieties of brooches, notably *ouches*, of which fine examples are a series from Essen Cathedral, and another, well reproduced in colour as the frontispiece, from the Imperial Treasury at Vienna; the ring-brooch and its variants are also developed. In the last years architectural influence is apparent in the settings, especially in devotional jewels; we may note, too, the vogue for pendent crosses and rosaries.

Renaissance jewels derive from classical Rome, but through sculpture rather than jewellery, engraved gems alone having any influence. The connexion between the arts of painting and *orfèvrerie* is well brought out, and the difficulty of assigning a provenance to these jewels is rightly acknowledged, with special reference to the many engravings of designs for jewels in France, Germany, and the Low Countries, Étienne Delaune and Virgil Solis being conspicuous examples.

The later periods generally show the gradual elimination of figure-work and enamelled gold and the emphasis on the glitter and sparkle of the stones. The eighteenth century particularly favoured light and lightness, and was notable for the profusion of paste jewellery which was not necessarily content to imitate stones, but took forms only distantly related to them.

In the nineteenth century, which for France began in 1789 with the French Revolution, we begin to see the coming of the industrial age, which was to put an end to the history of jewellery with the rise of mass-production and commercialism. The 'envoï' at the close of the book looks sadly into a future in which jewellery as an art seems to have no place.

This cannot but be a book of the first importance, filling a conspicuous blank in the literature of the subject. The immense research is attested by the full bibliography; the enthusiasm combined with lightness of touch harmonizes with the beauty of the copious illustrations.

Two points perhaps call for criticism. On p. 88 certain Renaissance jewels are said to demand judgement as pure sculpture, but can only receive it when they have been enlarged by scientific devices unknown to the age that produced them. But were magnifying lenses unknown? In the caption to Plate 97a Mary of Austria is described as the daughter of Philip II of Spain, while the list of plates gives Philip IV, and the text (p. 140) Philip III.

But these are small matters in a book which students and art-historians must cordially welcome.

A. B. TONNOCHY

Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments, 1559-1581. By J. E. NEALE. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 434. London: Jonathan Cape, 1953. 25s.

On general lines it suffices to say of Professor Neale's latest book, the second of the trilogy of which the plan is to unfold the history of Parliament during the reign of the first Elizabeth, that this is a most distinguished piece of work, significant even among the other significant books which have already come from the Astor Professor of English History in the University of London. Here is a remarkable study of the queen and her Commons, faithful indeed but having

their own opinions about many matters and expressing them. So inevitably there was contest, but if the honours went chiefly to the queen the resulting pattern had not behind it discordance but rather, as Professor Neale says, an 'antiphony'. In fact, to adapt another of the author's happy phrases, the marriage between two strong forces was indeed one of convenience, but with both sides aware there could be no question of divorce. It is a tribute to Professor Neale's skill in the setting forth of the story that the reader is constantly moved to the conviction that this is what really happened, this is what the actors in a living drama were really like. Scholars will recognize that the impression thus conveyed is not founded on flimsy evidence. 'I have', remarks Professor Neale in his preface to the earlier volume, 'been hunting Elizabethan parliamentary documents all my professional life.' Many of these are so far unpublished, perhaps may never have been looked at. There is no better illustration of his method of research than, for example, that so far from the customary reliance on D'Ewes *Journals* he has gone behind that great seventeenth-century collection, and has drawn his information from the original manuscripts on which it was founded. With the parliamentary material go the speeches of the queen, 'treated as sacrosanct' and given in full, and others of her great servants. The major issue throughout the period covered was the religious settlement. The story of the battle in 1559 for and against the use of the second Prayer Book of Edward VI is, as it was bound to be, largely ideological in character. Some of the more speculative conclusions will not perhaps be accepted by all schools of thought. As a piece of historical research, the unravelling of what actually occurred, with the queen changing her mind at the last moment, 'perhaps in the watches of the night', it is masterly. From the point of view of technical detail these chapters are probably the most important in the book. But behind the detail lie, as Professor Neale here and throughout the book never fails to make clear, wider issues, fundamental to the relations between crown and parliament and so to the history of the country at large.

GLADYS SCOTT THOMSON

Local Records, their Nature and Care. Edited by LILIAN J. REDSTONE and FRANCIS W. STEER for the Society of Local Archivists. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. xv+246. London: G. Bell & Sons, 1953. 25s.

This book is of importance as being the first handbook on a comprehensive scale devoted to this subject. It is, moreover, a timely and informative book which gives a general idea of the very great development of public interest in English local records over the past thirty years, together with interesting and sometimes entertaining details of the technique of the local archivist.

Changes in the law, economic pressure on landowners, housing difficulties, war, and the tendency to every sort and kind of amalgamation in civil and ecclesiastical life all combined during the period in question to expose the records to great perils, of which, to our shame be it said, enemy action has been the least destructive. New measures were needed to meet the crisis, and we learn from this book that in all but eight counties Record Offices have now been set up by the County Councils, where thirty years ago there were but one or two, while many other archive repositories have been provided by county boroughs, universities, public libraries, museums, and local societies. (A complete list of all local repositories would have been very useful.) The danger of the 'multiplication of local repositories' in the same area, where 'cocks crow belligerently from neighbouring roosts' and where competition for records leads to the splitting up of archive groups 'to satisfy the claims of local ambition' is wisely stressed in the introductory chapter.

In the body of the book the duties of archivists, their relations with their authorities and with the public, technical details of storage and repairs to documents, the training of staff, registration,

classification, cataloguing, publications, exhibitions, and lectures are all dealt with. A particularly good chapter is that on 'Bringing in the Records', with its well-deserved tribute to the public spirit of owners who have 'given up their archives for the benefit of historical research'. A spirit of friendliness and enthusiasm breathes through every page of this book; controversial topics are avoided, and nearly every type of repository has its say. The word 'nearly' is used advisedly, for there is unfortunately no mention of the very fine records centre at Durham which has grown up since 1947 around the Cathedral records and the University, or of the great collection for Wales in the National Library of Aberystwith. Both these repositories serve a much wider area than the county.

Two things seem to emerge from this book. First, the need for a sound work on the diplomatic of local records, especially of the great series of documents concerned with the conveyancing of real estate. Without this, efforts at cataloguing can only be tentative and provisional. Secondly, the urgent need for a public inquiry into the present chaotic condition of Local Records administration in this country as the necessary basis of any future legislation. It is not only in the interests of local history that we must put our house in order. Our national history—the history of Parliament, for example—can no longer be written without recourse to local records.

JOAN WAKE

The Borough Town of Stratford-upon-Avon. By LEVI FOX, M.A., F.S.A. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 168. Published by the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon, 1953. 10s. 6d.

The arrangement of this readable and well-proportioned book is indicated by the section-headings: Historical Background; The Town, Past and Present; The Economic Background; The Government of the Borough; Shakespeare and Stratford.

As Deputy Keeper of the Corporation Records, Mr. Fox has had access to a very full series of documents and he has made good use of them. In many respects the tale he tells is familiar: a river crossing-place; a Bronze Age settlement; a Romano-British village; a Saxon cemetery; manorial jurisdiction; the grant of burgage tenure and a market; a gild; a charter; a decaying Corporation; nineteenth-century reform. But if Hugh Clopton had not made his fortune in London and come home to build a fine stone bridge, Stratford might never have been much more than a village. If William Shakespeare had not made his fortune in London and come home to buy a house it would never have been more than a prosperous market town. If Edward Flower and his successors had not made their fortunes in Stratford and shown an enlightened devotion to their native place, the town would probably never have had its Memorial Theatre and there would have been fewer old buildings left for visitors to see.

The schoolmaster can use Stratford's history, if he likes, as a basis for his picture of a typical midland borough. The college tutor can use it equally well to demonstrate that such an abstraction never existed. Both of them, as well as Stratfordians and visitors, will be grateful to Mr. Fox and to the Corporation for putting the facts on record.

C. D. B. ELLIS

Dereham: the Biography of a Country Town. By NOEL BOSTON, F.S.A. and ERIC PUDDY. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. xii + 304. Dereham: G. Arthur Coleby, 1952. 15s.

If looked upon as a narrative of the annals of a parish, or as the receptacle for storing the printed sources and tales of a small town, then this book fulfils a useful function. But that it can take its place beside a modern history of a parish is more than the authors can claim for it. Little original research has gone into the making of it, if we exclude the chapter on the church by the late Sir Alfred Clapham. A very useful feature is the biographical account of former rectors and vicars of the parish.

One regrets that the authors have been able to throw so little new light on Sir John Fenn (1739-94), the eighteenth-century editor (and owner) of the Paston Letters.

Few, if any, of the ancient charters and records of the town have been examined, and, in consequence, the book cannot be regarded as a 'tool' for the historian. A somewhat sketchy but recent descent of the manors is given. At the same time, research workers and others will be grateful to the authors for reproducing part of the very interesting eighteenth-century map of the town. Some of the illustrations are pure inventions of a semi-facetious nature. All the same, we would rather have the book in print because of much of the information it contains, than that it should meet with the same fate as the manuscripts of the history of the old grammar school.

H. L. BRADFER-LAWRENCE

Andrews' and Dury's Map of Wiltshire, 1773. Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Records Branch, vol. viii (1952). 11 x 8½. Pp. 4. 38 plates of reduced facsimile.

Andrews' and Dury's map of Wiltshire, the first map of the county to be published after those of Saxton and Speed, has been admirably published here at an approximate scale of 1 inch to the mile, half that of the original engraving. Miss Crittall contributes an all too short introduction, and with the red overprint of parish boundaries and the charming Bewick woodcut of a bustard on the dust-cover the volume is an attractive piece of book-production as well as a document of great interest to students of local history and topography.

The engraver's errors in transcriptions of the original lettering offer some amusing problems in interpretation: Avebury as 'a Samons Cirens' for instance baffled the reviewer, but Mr. G. M. Young's emendation 'a famous Circus' not only carries conviction but gives an example of this curious use of the word 'circus' for a stone circle probably due to Wood of Bath, who as an architect held the unconventional view that a circus should be a circle.

STUART PIGGOTT

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

PROC. BRIT. ACADEMY, vol. 37, 1951:—The Greek culture of South Italy in the later Middle Ages, by R. Weiss; Reynold Pecock, Bishop of Chichester, by E. F. Jacob; William Camden and the *Britannia*, by S. Piggott; The Imperial 'Vota', by H. Mattingly; The art of the Severan Age in the light of Tripolitanian discoveries, by J. B. Ward Perkins; The censured opinions of Uthred of Boldon, by M. D. Knowles.

ANTIQUITY, no. 107:—The Circumpolar Stone Age, by G. Gissing; The Tholos Tomb in Iberia, by S. Piggott; Magic and medicine, by H. Humphreys; Fire and the sword: the technique of destruction, by D. H. Gordon; Hoddom, by C. A. R. Radford; A prehistoric wall of sun-dried brick, by W. Dehn; A medieval drawing of a plough, by H. M. Colvin; A remnant of the primeval forest, by F. Evans; The Swedish archaeological expedition to India, by H. Rydh.

No. 108:—Greek records in the Minoan script, by J. Chadwick and M. Ventris; Edward Simpson, alias 'Flint Jack', by J. Blacking; Recent discoveries in East African archaeology, by G. Mathew; Souterrains in Scotland, by F. T. Wainwright; A second inscribed clay tablet from Enkomi, by P. Dikaios; The Pictish symbols at Trusty's Hill, Kirkcudbrightshire, by C. A. R. Radford; A possible Roman signal station in Devon, by J. Fox; Conical straw huts in the Sudan, by S. el Nur; A crop-site in France, by O. G. S. Crawford; New light on early man in Africa, by J. D. Clark.

JOURN. B.A.A., 3rd ser., vol. 15:—Some representations of St. Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey and elsewhere, by L. E. Tanner; A history of the buildings of the English province of the Order of Cluny after the suppression of some priories and the general dissolution of the monasteries, by Rose Graham; Some woodcuts in Holinshed's Chronicle, by M. Holmes; The development of the guide-book until the early nineteenth century, by E. S. de Beer; Ancient Churches of the Tavistock Deanery, Devon, by C. F. Cornelius.

ARCH. JOURN., vol. 109:—Hill-slope forts and related earthworks in South-West England and South Wales, by A. Fox; The Roman conquest of the Cotswolds, by B. H. St. J. O'Neil and H. E. O'Neil; The North Downs main trackway and the Pilgrims' Way, by I. D. Margary; Oxford masons, 1370–1530, by E. A. Gee; The ancient windows of Christ's College Chapel, Cambridge, by B. Rackham.

R.I.B.A. JOURN., 3rd ser., vol. 61, no. 1:—Ancient Corinth, by R. E. Wycherley.

ARCHIVES, no. 8, 1952:—The archives of the Worshipful Company of Gunmakers of the City of London, by A. E. J. Hollaender; The Public Records of Scotland, 1, by Sir J. Fergusson of Kilkerran.

JOURN. SOC. ARMY HIST. RESEARCH, vol. 31, no. 127:—An officer of the 87th Foot, 1833, by W. Y. Carman; The staff uniform of the British Army, 1767 to 1855, by N. P. Dawnay; Lieut.-General the Hon. George Cathcart and staff, Berea Campaign, Basutoland, 1852, by G. Tylden; The volunteer Army of Great Britain, 1806, by the Marquess of Cambridge; The Royalist Army at the Battle of Roundway Down, 13th July, 1643.

Vol. 31, no. 128:—The Royal Dragoons, 1848, by Sir E. Makins; The Staff uniform of the British Army, 1767 to 1855, by N. P. Dawnay; The Volunteer Army of Great Britain, 1806, by the Marquess of Cambridge; Provisional Cavalry, 1797–1800, by G. R. Mellor; The red-hot shot medal, by J. M. A. Tamplin.

JOURN. ROY. ASIATIC SOC., pts. 3 and 4, 1953:—A Judeo-Arab house-deed from Habbān, by R. B. Serjeant; A new Parthian inscription, by W. B. Henning.

BURLINGTON MAG., July 1953:—William Kilburn and the earliest Copyright Acts for cotton printing designs, by A. K. Longfield.

September 1953:—The 'Sacred Blood' of Weissenau, by K. Erdmann.

October 1953:—The frescoes in the Choir of Santa Maria Novella, by G. Marchini; Hawksmoor's sale catalogue, by K. Downes.

November 1953:—Observations on the origin of the Arms of Edward the Confessor, by E. Delmar.

CAMDEN MISCELLANY, vol. 20:—A briefe collection of the Queenes Majesties most high and most honourable courtes of recordes, by R. Robinson, ed. R. L. Rickard; The Hastings Journal of the Parliament of 1621, ed. Lady de Villiers; The Minute Book of James Courthope, ed. by O. C. Williams.

COAT OF ARMS, vol. 2, no. 15:—The law of arms in England, by G. D. Squibb; Civic arms, by R. Bretton; Heraldic birds, by Sir G. Bellew; The heraldry of romance, by C. W. Scott-Giles; Insignia, by R. Saunders; Arms of the poet Burns, by John a Stewart; Notes & reflections on Hope's Grammar of English Heraldry, by H. S. London.

Vol. 2, no. 16:—The Digby tombs at Coleshill, by C. Crisp; Four Christian emblems, by Sir G. Bellew; Marshalling, by J. P. Brooke-Little; Notes and reflections on Hope's Grammar of English Heraldry, (cont.) by H. S. London.

CONNOISSEUR, August 1953:—Treasures of Oxford at Goldsmiths' Hall, by C. Oman; An apothecary's cabinet, by R. W. Symonds; Some silhouettes at Rosenborg Castle, by P. Hickman.

October 1953:—Robert Adam at Croome Court, by G. W. Beard; A 17th-century painted calico from the Coromandel coast, by J. Irwin; Some ship models at the National Maritime Museum Greenwich, by B. Lavis; An important group of Byzantine enamels, by C. G. E. Blunt; Jewels of the 15th and 16th centuries, by M. L. D'Orange.

December 1953:—Jean de Luxembourg: Seigneur de Ville, par G. van Camp; A group of 15th century bronze mortars, by Y. Hackenbroch.

JOURN. EGYPT. ARCH., vol. 39:—The Memphite tomb of the General Haremhab, by Sir A. Gardiner; The coronation of King Haremhab, by Sir A. Gardiner; Egyptian military organization, by R. O. Faulkner; The statue head of a Tuthmoside monarch, by C. Aldred; Graffito of the Chamberlain and Controller of Works Antef at Sehēl, by L. Habachi; A thirty-square draught-board in the Royal Ontario Museum, by W. Needler; The Sudan origin of Predynastic 'Black Incised' pottery, by A. J. Arkell; A Hadra-vase in the Ashmolean Museum, by T. Rönne and P. M. Fraser; The Roman remains in the eastern desert of Egypt, by D. Meredith.

GENEALOGISTS' MAG., vol. 11, no. 11:—Buckinghamshire records, by A. V. Woodman; William Elderton, Ballad-writer, by W. Elderton.

JOURN. BRITISH SOC. MASTER GLASS-PAINTERS, vol. 11, no. 3:—Stained glass of historic interest in London, by J. A. Knowles; The Braybrooke glass in Saffron Walden Church, by F. W. Steer; Notes on 16th century ornament: profile medallions, true lover's knots and Roman lettering, by K. Harrison; A note on stained glass in the United States, by J. Craig; Ancient glass in Nottinghamshire. v. A survey, by N. Truman.

JOURN. HELLENIC STUDIES, vol. 73:—The generals in the Hellespont, 410-407 B.C., by A. Andrewes; Notes and inscriptions from Caunus, by G. E. Bean; Some thoughts on the 'Helena' of Euripides, by J. G. Griffith; Protagoras' doctrine of justice and virtue in the 'Protagoras' of Plato, by G. B. Kerferd; Greek kinship terminology, by M. Miller; Odysseus in Italy, by E. D. Phillips; The cost of the Parthenon, by R. S. Stainer; From religion to philosophy, by G. Thomson; Evidence for Greek dialect in the Mycenaean archives, by M. Ventris and J. Chadwick; Herodotus II, 28 on the sources of the Nile, by G. A. Wainwright; Archaeology in Greece, 1952, by J. M. Cook; Mycenae, 1952, by A. J. B. Wace; Archaeology in Cyprus, 1952, by A. H. S. Megaw; An inscribed marble portrait-herm in the British Museum, by D. E. L. Haynes and M. N. Tod; A column krater in Dunedin, by P. E. Corbett; Mopsos, by R. D. Barnett; Where was Attila's camp? by R. Browning.

HISTORY, n.s., vol. 38, no. 132:—The theory and practice of representation in medieval England, by H. M. Cam; Historical revision no. 120: the Treaty of Northampton, 1328, by E. L. G. Stones.

BULL. INST. HIST. RESEARCH, vol. 26, no. 74:—Common law writs and returns: Richard I to Richard II, pt. 1, by J. C. Davies; Alleged fifteenth-century Portuguese joint-stock companies and the articles of Dr. Fitzler, by V. Rau and B. W. Diffie; Some common petitions in Richard II's first Parliament, by J. G. Edwards.

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ENG. HIST. REV., vol. 68, no. 267:—Clerical taxation by consent, 1279–1301, by H. S. Deighton; The office and dignity of Protector of England, with special reference to its origins, by J. S. Roskell.

No. 268:—The *Camera Regis* under Henry II, pt. 2, by J. E. A. Jolliffe; The Earl of Essex as strategist and military organizer, 1596–7, by L. W. Henry.

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PROC. HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON, vol. 19, no. 1:—The Hameys in the Netherlands, Russia, London, and Chelsea, 1568–1676, by J. Keevil; The all-Irish 'Patriot Parliament' of 1689, by Sir D. Savory; Some account of the correspondence of Johann Heinrich Ott, by L. Forster; Aliens in England before the Huguenots, by T. Wyatt.

JOURN. ROMAN STUDIES, vol. 43, pts. 1 & 2:—The shrine of St. Peter and its setting, by J. M. C. Toynbee; The *Tabula Hebana* and *Propertius II*, 31, by H. Last; The significance of the Consular Tribune, by E. S. Staveley; The origin of some Pantheon columns, by C. H. O. Scaife; Annius Plocamus: two inscriptions from the Berenice Road, by D. Meredith; Constantius Chlorus' invasion of Britain, by D. E. Eichholz; Marcus Aurelius and the small earth, by J. O. Thomson; Census records of the later Roman Empire, by A. H. M. Jones; The Roman and Byzantine Limes in Cyrenaica, by R. G. Goodchild; The fall of the Capitol, by O. Skutsch; The consulate of the Elder Trajan, by J. Morris; Air reconnaissance of Southern Britain, by J. K. St. Joseph; The last days of Cleopatra: a chronological problem, by T. C. Skeat; A late Roman portrait head, by R. Miescher; Roman Britain in 1952.

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June 1953:—Cave habitations and granaries in Tripolitania and Tunisia, by H. T. Norris.

July 1953:—Studies of British and Irish Celts: first series: reports of Ancient Mining & Metallurgy Committee of Royal Anthro. Inst.; Stonehenge and midsummer: a new interpretation, by A. T. Hatto.

MARINER'S MIRROR, vol. 39, no. 3:—The English Fleet at the Battle of Portland, by R. C. Anderson; The new Broad Arrow: origins of British oil policy, by J. E. King; The Navy at Copenhagen in 1807, by A. N. Ryan.

Vol. 39, no. 4:—More light on the *Chesapeake*, by A. Steel; Shipbuilding in Southern Asia ports, 1800–1820, by W. Kirk.

BRIT. NUM. JOURN., vol. 27:—The animal, 'Anglo-Merovingian' and miscellaneous series of Anglo-Saxon sceattas, by P. V. Hill; The Canterbury (St. Martin's) hoard of Frankish and Anglo-Saxon coin-ornaments, by P. Grierson; Three Anglo-Saxon notes, by C. E. Blunt: A coin of Heaberht, King of Kent; Lord Grantley's attribution vindicated; A Burgred-type coin with, apparently, the name of King Aethelbearht of Wessex; A die-identity between a coin of Alfred and one of Aethelstan II of East Anglia; Maidstone Treasure-trove, by R. H. Dolley and E. J. Winstanley; A note on the Maidstone pot, by A. Warhurst; The attribution of the thistle-head and mullet groats, by I. Stewart; British currency and the importation of bullion, 1793–1840, by J. D. A. Thompson; Documents illustrating the export of counterfeit currency to the West Indies, by J. D. A. Thompson.

TRANS. ORIENTAL CERAMIC SOC., 1950–1:—The development of Koryo wares, by G. M. Gompertz; A thousand years of potting in the Hunan Province, by I. Newton; Some blue-and-white in Istanbul, by J. A. Pope; A rare example of Hsing yao, by F. Koyama; A visit to An-yang, correction by S. H. Hansford.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND, ANNUAL 6, 1953:—Four tomb groups from Jordan, by G. L. Harding.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION QUARTERLY, May–Oct. 1953:—Excavations at Jericho, 1953, by K. M. Kenyon; The ship tyre, by S. Smith; The origins of agricultural feudalism in the Holy Land, by E. Marmorstein; The beginnings of civilization in the Middle East, by J. Waechter; High, loop-handled cups and the early relations between Mesopotamia, Palestine and Egypt, by M. Dothan.

PROC. PREHISTORIC SOC., 1952:—Bronze swords in Northern Europe: a reconsideration of Sprockhoff's *Griffzungenschwerter*, by J. D. Cowen; The excavation of two round barrows at Poole, Dorset, by H. Case; Art on British Iron Age pottery, by W. F. Grimes; Excavations at Kilpheder, South Uist, and the problem of the brochs and wheel-houses, by T. C. Lethbridge; Early crops in Southern England, by H. Helbaek.

BULL. JOHN RYLANDS LIB., vol. 36, no. 1:—A manuscript in the Rylands Library and Flemish-Dutch and Low German accounts of the life and miracles of Saint Barbara, by W. B. Lockwood; The Rylands collection of Greek and Latin papyri, by C. H. Roberts; A contribution to the archaeology of the Western Desert, 1, by A. Rowe; Hand-list of the Bagshawe muniments deposited in the John Rylands Library, by F. Taylor.

VIKING SOCIETY, SAGA-BOOK, vol. 13, pt. 5:—History and fiction in the sagas of the Icelanders, by G. Jones; Some exceptional women in the Sagas, by R. G. Thomas; Erling Skakke's dispute with King Valdemar, by G. M. Gathorne-Hardy; The place-names of Bornholm, by H. A. Koefoed.

JOURN. WARBURG AND COURTAULD INST., vol. 16, nos. 1-2:—The Castle of Gaillon in 1509-10, by R. Weiss; St. Francis and the birds of the Apocalypse, by F. D. Klingender; Jewish antecedents of Christian art, by C. Roth; A newly discovered manuscript of Opicinus de Canistris, by R. G. Salomon.

TRANS. BIRMINGHAM ARCH. SOC., vol. 69:—The monumental effigies of Staffordshire, pt. 1, by S. A. Jeavons; The later bridges of Warwickshire, by E. S. Sapcote; Nuneaton Priory; a record of excavation of the eastern range of conventional buildings during 1949 and 1950, by H. E. Brown; Baginton Castle excavations, 1933-48, by the late J. H. Edwards; Roman forts on Watling Street near Penkridge and Wroxeter, by J. K. St. Joseph; Report of excavations carried out at Henwood Priory, Solihull, 1950, by E. S. Sapcote.

TRANS. BRISTOL & GLOS. ARCH. SOC., 1952:—The merchant venturers of Bristol, by Sir L. G. Taylor; Whittington Court Roman Villa, Glos.: a report of the excavations undertaken from 1948-51, by H. E. O'Neil; Regional character in West Country medieval pottery, illustrated from Gloucester, Brockworth and Bourton-on-the-Water, with notes on the use of spectrographic analyses of medieval glazes, by E. M. Jope; The Gloucester Christ, by D. T. Rice; The rise of the Berkeleys: an account of the Berkeleys of Berkeley Castle, 1243-1361, by W. J. Smith; Old Catholic families of Gloucestershire, by J. N. Langston; Paper mills in Gloucestershire, by A. H. Shorter.

JOURN. CHESTER & NORTH WALES ARCHIT., ARCH. & HIST. SOC., vol. 40:—Excavations on the legionary defences at Chester, 1949-52, by G. Webster; Chester Cathedral after the Restoration, by R. V. H. Burne; The Chester Scholars or the Gentlemen Bellringers of St. John's, by J. W. Clarke.

TRANS. C. & W. A. & A. SOC., n.s., vol. 52:—Further excavations at Broomrigg, nr. Ainstable, by K. S. Hodgson; The Roman fort at Drumburgh, by F. G. Simpson and I. A. Richmond; Turrets and mile-castles between Burgh-by-Sands and Bowness-on-Solway, by F. G. Simpson, K. S. Hodgson and I. A. Richmond; Milecastle 79 (Solway), by I. A. Richmond and J. P. Gillam; A newly-discovered Roman road from Drumburgh to Kirkbride, by R. L. Bellhouse; Excavations in High House paddock, Cumberland, by B. Swinbank; St. Bega and her bracelet, by C. E. Last; Lanercost, by Sir I. Williams; Two tax accounts of the diocese of Carlisle, 1379-80, by J. L. Kirby; The repairing of Crummock Bridge, Holm Cultram, 1554, by G. P. Jones; Prince Charles Edward's House, Brampton, by C. R. Hudleston; John Wesley's travels in Westmorland and Lancashire North-of-the-Sands, by the late T. A. Bainbridge; Addingham Churchwardens' Accounts, vol. 1 (1690-1848), by F. B. Swift; Joseph Robinson, turnpike road surveyor, 1772-92, by N. Dees; The historic crossings of the river Eden at Stanwix, and their associated road-systems, by R. Hogg; North-West coast railways politics in the eighteen-sixties, by S. Pollard.

ESSEX REVIEW, vol. 62, no. 247:—History of a weaving mill in Braintree, by A. B. Hunter; The Scotts of Woolston Hall, by E. J. Erith; Overseers' accounts and proceedings in vestry, Ramsden Bell-house, by J. W. Austen.

Vol. 62, no. 248:—The care of the poor in Elizabethan Essex, by F. G. Emmison; The Scotts of Woolston Hall, by E. J. Erith; Maldon 1558–74, by W. J. Petchey.

TRANS. HALIFAX ANT. SOC., 1952:—Wadsworth highways, by E. W. Watson and B. Gledhill; A gibbet miscellany, by T. W. Hanson; Bell House farm and Erringden Park, by A. Senior; Local funeral hatchments, by R. Bretton; Crossleys of Dean Clough, pt. 3, by R. Bretton; Early inhabitants of Rastrick, pt. 2, by H. T. Clay; Early postal facilities at Rippenden, by J. H. Priestley; Marsh Farm, Southowram, by W. J. Lee; Goat House and Okes, by J. H. Priestley; Pellon Lane Baptist Graveyard inscriptions, by R. Bretton; Rochdale to Halifax and Elland Turnpike, pt. 1, by J. H. Priestley; Lower Slack, Wainstalls, by H. W. Harwood.

TRANS. HIST. SOC. LANCS. & CHESHIRE, vol. 104:—Seneley Green grammar school, Ashton-in-Makerfield, by W. J. Hodgkiss; Open fields in West Cheshire, by V. Chapman; The Lancashire probate records, by B. C. Jones; Traditional house-types in rural Lancashire and Cheshire, by W. A. Singleton; The lesser chapels of Cheshire, pt. 2, by R. Richards; Some events and personalities concerned with the Parish of Sefton and the Free Grammar School (Merchant Taylors') at Great Crosby, 1755–1811, by T. Williams; Paradise Street, Liverpool: the derivation of the name, by S. A. Harris; Excavation of a circular enclosure at Broadbank, Briercliffe, Lancashire, by T. G. E. Powell; The Harkirk, Little Crosby, by F. Tyrer; The 'Red Book' of the Abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester, by A. Nightingale; Richard Burton, Vicar of Lancaster, 1466–84, by F. R. Johnston.

LINCS. ARCHIT. & ARCH. SOC., vol. 5, pt. 1, n.s.:—Goll Grange, a grange of Spalding Priory, by H. E. Hallam; Ralf, son of Gilbert and Ralf, son of Ralf, by D. M. Williamson; The Heighington Terrier, by F. W. East; Edmund Lynold and the Court of High Commission, by J. Martin.

LINCOLNSHIRE HISTORIAN, no. 10:—Notes on some terms in ecclesiastical records, by K. Major; Deloraine Court, Lincoln, by M. E. Wood; Grimsby and the Haven Company, 1787–1825, by E. Gillett.

No. 11:—Notes on the agrarian history of Owersby and Burgh-le-Marsh, i, by M. W. Barley and P. E. Rossell; Hilton House, Lincoln, by F. J. Cooper.

No. 12:—Notes on the agrarian history of Owersby and Burgh-le-Marsh, ii, by M. W. Barley and P. E. Rossell.

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REVUE ARCHÉOLOGIQUE, 6th ser., tome 41, Avril-Juin 1952:—Une statue de *Doryphore* à Cherchel, par E. Boucher-Colozier; Nouveaux poinçons-matrice de La Graufesenque, par L. Balsan;

Nouveaux bronzes volubilitains, par R. Étienne; *Falx Vinitoria*: archéologie et philologie, par E. de Saint-Denis; Les fouilles américaines de Troie, par J. Bérard.

Tome 42, Juill.-Sept. 1953:—Une campagne de fouilles de la Mission française en Susiane, par R. Ghirshman; Nouvelles remarques sur l'Apologue dit de Prodicos: Héraclès entre le Vice et la Vertu, par C. Picard; Le sanctuaire d'Auguste et les Cryptoportiques d'Arles, par J. Latour; Les monuments gallo-romains de Paris, et les origines de la sculpture votive en Gaule romaine, par J.-J. Hatt; Sur une composition retrouvée de Ribera, d'après le relief alexandrin dit Visite de Dionysos chez Ikarios, par C. Gilbert; La basilique carolingienne de Saint-Sernin, d'après un texte de Raban Maur sur les autels et les reliques, par R. Rey.

REVUE ARCH. DE L'EST ET DU CENTRE-EST, tome 4, fasc. 3:—Les nécropoles hallstattiennes d'Aulnay-aux-Planches, par A. Brisson et J.-J. Hatt; Les importations vinaires en pays bourguignon avant le développement de la viticulture, par E. Thevenot; Tumulus et voies antiques. Recherches faites dans le Châtillonnais, par R. Paris.

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Fasc. 2:—La cathédrale de Bourges aux XI^e et XII^e siècles, par R. Gauchery et R. Branner; Les tombeaux gothiques de Saint-Nazaire de Carcassonne, par G.-J. Mot; L'architecture religieuse populaire du diocèse d'Auch, par H. Polge; L'église Saint-Dalmas de Valdeblore, par J. Thirion; Découverte d'une peinture murale du XIV^e siècle en Champagne, par E. Paillard.

Fasc. 3:—L'Apocalypse d'Angers. Éléments pour un nouvel essai de restitution, par R. Planchenault.

Fasc. 4:—Le vitrail en Normandie de 1250 à 1300, par J. Lafond; L'église et la crypte du prieuré de Salaise, par E. Châtel; A propos de nos plus anciennes peintures murales, par P. Deschamps et M. Thibout.

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No. 5-6:—Notules de typologie paléolithique. Pointes levalloisiennes et pointes pseudo-levalloisiennes, par F. Bordes; Tableaux synoptiques des principaux microlithes géométriques du Tardenoisien français, par R. Daniel et E. Vignard; Essai d'adaptation des méthodes statistiques au Paléolithique supérieur. Premiers résultats, par D. de Sonneville-Bordes et J. Perrot; Le Paléolithique du plateau Cabrol à Saint-Front-sur-Lémance, Lot-et-Garonne, par L. Coulonges et D. de Sonneville-Bordes; Note préliminaire sur l'industrie des niveaux supérieurs de la Grotte du Renne, à Arcy-sur-Cure, par G. Bailloud; Une curieuse roche 'gravée' des Monts Alantika, par H. Alimen et P. Lecoq; Station de Lacabrette, par Bétirac et Pouillange; Le Paléolithique supérieur du plateau Baillard à Gavaudun, par D. de S. Bordes; Préhistoire et certitude mathématique, par L. Pradel; La grotte de Labau, par J. Audibert et J. Boudou.

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céramiques néo-énéolithiques des pays de l'Ouest, par Dr. Riquet; Considérations sur le Périgordien de la grotte du Fonteniox, par L. Pradel; La station néolithique des Fortins au Havre (forêt de Montgeon), par L. Cayeux; Signification climatologique des faunes paléolithiques, par J. Bouchud; Pseudo-industries humaines sur galets de quartzite glaciaires, par F. Bourdier; La grotte de Cottier, près Retournac, par P. Bout; La faune des grottes des Orciers et de Cottier, par P. et J. Bouchud; Essai de classification des industries 'moustériennes', par F. Bordes; Observations sur les restes humains énéolithiques de la station du Vallon des Cèdres, par R. P. Charles.

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V. Toepfer; Spiralkettenschmuck aus der Altmark, von W. Hoffmann; Ein Wohnplatz der Hausurnenkultur, Pferdebestattungen und Hockergräber bei Siersleben, von P. Ulrich; Altmärkische Fibel mit Plattenanhänger aus Tangermünde, von W. Hoffmann.

OFFA, Band 11, 1952:—Zwei Schalensteine in der Gemarkung Deutsch-Nienhof, von J. Röschmann; Ein Grabfund der älteren Bronzezeit von Süderschmedeby, von J. Röschmann; Ein bronzezeitlicher Grabhügel von Gadeland, von H. Hingst; Ein bronzezeitlicher Hortfund von Hohenfelde, von E. Stehn; Einige Funde der Ilmenaukultur in Schleswig-Holstein, von K. Kersten; Zur Deutung der Funde von La Tène, von K. Raddatz; Die vorgeschichtliche Eisengewinnung in Schleswig-Holstein, von H. Hingst; Vorgeschichtliche Eisenschmelzen in Westschleswig, von H. Hinz; Der Moorfund von Geel-Royum, Kreis Schleswig, von P. La Baume; Zwei neue Funde römischer Münzen in Norder-Dithmarschen, von P. La Baume; Die wikingerzeitlichen Kammergräber am Thorsberger Moor, von E. Aner; Zwei Häuser der Wikingerzeit von Bredstedt, von H. Hinz; Ein Münzfund der Wikingerzeit aus Steinfeld, von H. Jankuhn; Rethra. Das Heiligtum der Wenden in Mecklenburg, von E. Unger; Ein Wallschnitt auf der Ertheneburg, von W. Hübener; Bemerkungen zu einer Verbreitungskarte der Tatinger Gruppe, von W. Hübener; Zur jüngeren Bronzezeit von Holstein, von E. Srockhoff.

SAALBURG JAHRBUCH, XII, 1953:—Hypokausten, von F. Kretzschmer; Keltisches Pferdegeschirr der Spätlatènezeit, von J. Werner; Zwei ältere Latèneefunde aus Bad Homburg, von H. Schönberger; Provinzialrömische Gräber mit Waffenbeigaben, von H. Schönberger; Ein neuer Namenstempel des Nieder Zieglers Sempronius Frontinus der XXII. Legion, von R. Nierhaus; Ein Greifenkopf vom Zugmantel und sein Gegenstück im Vimose-Fund, von O. Klindt-Jensen; Anhänger in Form von Ringknaufschwertern, von K. Raddatz; Die spätromischen eisernen Dosenortbänder, von H.-J. Hundt.

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December 1952:—The architectural design and its realization in the late middle ages and the 16th century in the Netherlands, by R. Meischke.

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October 1953:—Carillons are monuments, by J. Kalf.

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ARCHAEOLOGIAI ÉRTÉSÍTŐ, vol. 80, no. 1:—Contributions au problème de la paysannerie dans les provinces frontières de l'ouest de l'Empire romain, par E. M. Stajerman; La première trouvaille d'outil de l'homme du paléolithique ancien en Hongrie, par L. Vértes; La faune de la grotte K. Lambrecht, par D. Jánossy; Rapport préliminaire de l'analyse anthracotomique des charbons de bois provenants des fouilles de 1952 de la grotte K. Lambrecht à Varbo, par A. Sárkány et J. Stieber; Les fouilles de Zalavár, par G. Fehér; Le cimetière à incinération de l'âge hallstattien et du Haut Empire à Cserszegtomaj, par É. Szántó; Les vestiges des coutumes d'inhumation de Prochorovka chez les Sarmates de la Hongrie, par É. Zalotay; Rapport sur les fouilles exécutées en 1952 au palais du roi Mathias à Visegrád, par N. Héjj; Intervention lors du débat sur la conférence: 'L'importance des travaux linguistiques de Stalin pour les recherches archéologiques hongroises', par J. G. Szilágyi; Études archéologiques soviétiques, par M. Párducz; J. Harmatta, Études sur l'histoire des Sarmates, par T. Horváth; A. Radnóti, Les monuments archéologiques de la région du lac Balaton, par J. Szilágyi; Les alternances des centres de gravitation de la puissance militaire dans les provinces frontières de l'Empire Romain, par J. Szilágyi.

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vaille d'objets incinérés de l'époque avare à Bácsújfalu. Contributions à l'étude des rites funéraires et au legs archéologique des Koutourgours-Bulgares, par D. Csallány; Quelques problèmes de l'histoire de l'orfèvrerie et de ses ustensiles, par E. Vattay.

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RIVISTA DI STUDI LIGURI, anno 18, nos. 3-4:—La Nave Romana di Albenga, per N. Lamboglia; L'archéologie sous-marine en Provence, par F. Benoît.

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Vol. 8, fasc. 5-6:—Iscrizioni paleovenete da Lāgole: III serie, per G. B. Pellegrini.

NOTIZIE DEGLI SCAVI, ser. 8, vol. 7, fasc. 1-6 (1953):—Contains accounts of excavations and discoveries at S. Martino di Venezze; Carceri d'Este; Bastia di Rovolon; Populonia; Castelnuovo val di Cecina; Pomarance; Capena; Veio; Pianaccio; Alba Fucens; Roma; Ostia; S. Marcellino and Sorrento.

RIVISTA DI SCIENZE PREISTORICHE, vol. 7, fasc. 1-2:—Australopithecinae, per V. Marcozzi; Un metodo storico geografico per la interpretazione dei problemi paleontologici: la stratigrafia spaziale, per P. L. Zambotti; Nuova stazione litica all' aperto del Paleotico superiore nel Valdarno, per P. Cocchi; Une foëne à deux dents en bois de renne dans le Magdalénien de la Vache, par G. M. Fabre et R. Robert; Scoperta di tombe arcaiche nel Foro Romano, per S. M. Puglisi.

Fasc. 3-4:—Ancora sul metodo in Paleontologia, per P. L. Zambotti; Le industrie litiche di Thysville e di Masa, nel Congo Belga sud-occidentale, e il problema della cultura 'tumbiana', per A. Micheli; Un cranio preistorico di Arquà Petrarca, per V. Marcozzi; Avanzi di abitato capannicolo a Francavilla Fontana, per M. O. Acanfora; Un lissoir gravé inédit de la Grotte de La Vache, par R. Robert et H. Kühn.

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FELIX RAVENNA, April 1953:—I mosaici di Ravenna, per S. Zanella; Un ritratto romano di età repubblicana nel Museo Nazionale di Ravenna, per G. Mazzotti; Qualche appunto sull'antica Cattedrale di Ravenna, per G. Bovini.

August 1953:—Un'antica chiesa ravennata: S. Michele in Africisco, per G. Bovini; Il sarcofago di S. Ecclesio nella basilica di S. Vitale, per M. Mazzotti; Per la datazione dedicatoria di S. Maria Mater Domini a Venezia, per F. W. Deichmann.

December 1953:—I Mosaici Sinaitici. Concordanze e sconcordanze con Ravenna, per G. Galassi; Il riordinamento del primo chiostro del Museo Nazionale di Ravenna, per G. Bovini; A proposito dei mosaici dell'abside e dell'arco trionfale di S. Michele in Africisco, per G. Bovini.

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Arkesilaos, per M. Borda; Un tipo statuario di Hercules Invictus, per M. F. Squarciapino; Monumento funerario dalla via Portuense, per D. Faccenna; Rilievo romano di Villa Torlonia, per V. Cianfarani; La datazione del ritratto di Augusto giovinetto al Vaticano, per P. Mingazzini; Bronzetti romani del Museo Civico di Bologna, per L. Cenacchi; Nuove epigrafi romane a Spoleto, per A. Rambaldi.

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DET KGL. NORSKE VIDENSKABERS SELSKABS SKRIFTER, 1952:—Et nytt trøndersk skattefunn fra 900-årene, af S. Marstrander; Trondheim Katedralskole. Bygninger og undervisningsrom 1152-1952, av A. Øverås.

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PREHISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY

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SERBIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

Monuments et stations archéologiques en Serbie. I. Serbie Occidentale. Edited by D. Bosković. $13\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. vii + 219. Académie Serbe des Sciences. Belgrade, 1953.

WALL-PAINTINGS

Yugoslav medieval frescoes (replicas) at the Tate Gallery. 9×7 . Pp. 47. Arts Council of Great Britain, 1953.

YUGOSLAV ARCHAEOLOGY

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Ludmer. By D. Sergejevski. 11×8 . Pp. 39 + pls. 49. (Résumé in French) Izdanje Zemaljskog Muzeja u Sarajevu, 1952.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

Thursday, 15th October 1953. Sir James Mann, President, in the Chair.

Lord Mottistone, Mr. A. L. F. Rivet, Professor F. E. Zeuner, and Mr. T. F. Barton were admitted Fellows.

Dr. C. G. Schültz read a paper on Aggersborg and Viking fortresses in Denmark.

Thursday, 22nd October 1953. Sir James Mann, President, in the Chair.

Dr. H. N. Savory, F.S.A., read a paper on two Welsh chambered long-cairns: Pipton (Breck.) and Ebenezer (Carm.).

Thursday, 29th October 1953. Sir James Mann, President, in the Chair.

Mr. A. G. Grimwade was admitted a Fellow.

Brigadier O. F. G. Hogg, F.S.A., read a paper on the Royal Military Academy in the eighteenth century.

Thursday, 5th November 1953. Dr. E. G. Millar, Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. R. F. Jessup, F.S.A., read a paper entitled 'Two monuments to a mood: Fawley Mount and Fausset's Pavilion', and Dr. G. Zarnecki read a note on the sculpture from the Pavilion.

Thursday, 12th November 1953. Sir James Mann, President, in the Chair.

Mr. N. Walker was admitted a Fellow.

Mr. B. H. St. J. O'Neil, F.S.A., read a paper on Rhodes and the origin of the bastion.

Thursday, 19th November 1953. Sir James Mann, President, in the Chair.

Dr. H. J. Plenderleith, F.S.A., read a paper on the work of the British Museum Laboratory.

Thursday, 26th November 1953. Mr. W. F. Grimes, Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. J. R. C. Hamilton was admitted a Fellow.

Dr. A. E. Wilson, F.S.A., read a paper on Roman Chichester, its beginnings and the date of its defences.

Thursday, 3rd December 1953. Sir James Mann, President, in the Chair.

Professor Romilly Jenkins was admitted a Fellow.

Mr. H. Maryon, F.S.A., read a paper on the Colossus of Rhodes.

Thursday, 10th December 1953. Mr. L. E. Tanner, Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. M. S. F. Hood, Mr. T. F. Reddaway, and Mr. F. B. Gilhespy were admitted Fellows.

Mr. W. F. Grimes, Vice-President, read a paper on excavations at St. Bride's, Fleet Street.

Thursday, 17th December 1953. Sir James Mann, President, in the Chair.

Dr. W. H. C. Freud and Miss J. M. Reynolds were admitted Fellows.

Professor F. E. Zeuner, F.S.A., read a paper on the archaeology of the camel and the elephant.

Thursday, 14th January 1954. Sir James Mann, President, in the Chair.

The Extraordinary Meeting which was to have preceded this meeting was postponed to allow further time for receiving amendments to the alterations to the Statutes proposed by Council.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society: As an Honorary Fellow, Dr. Johannes Bøe; as Ordinary Fellows: Professor I. L. Foster, Mr. P. Pulleyne, Rev. S. G. Braude-Birks, Mr. I. E. Gray, Mrs. K. M. T. Atkinson, Mr. R. A. H. Farrar, Mr. J. M. Baines, Sir E. de Normann, Mr. E. G. M. Fletcher, Mr. N. Drinkwater, Dr. H. Bowditch, Miss E. D. Mercer, Dr. A. A. Moss, and Mr. F. I. G. Rawlins.

Mr. H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence, Treasurer, exhibited medieval flooring tiles from Bawsey, near King's Lynn, and an English fourteenth-century manuscript of Bede and Gildas, probably from Fountains Abbey. Sir L. Woolley, F.S.A., exhibited a sixteenth-century painting of St. Agnes and St. Ignatius. Mr. M. R. Holmes, F.S.A., exhibited a pearl from the tomb of Edward I, the property of the London Museum. Mr. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, Secretary, exhibited a twelfth-century painted wooden head and foot from South Cerney, Glos., by permission of the Parochial Church Council of South Cerney.

Thursday, 21st January 1954. Sir James Mann, President, in the Chair.

Mr. R. A. H. Farrar, Mr. E. G. M. Fletcher, Professor I. L. Foster, and Mr. N. Drinkwater were admitted Fellows.

Mr. A. R. Dufty, Mr. G. C. Dunning, Mr. Lewis Edwards, and Dr. H. L. Hildburgh were appointed Auditors of the Society's accounts for 1953.

Dr. F. T. Wainwright, F.S.A., and Dr. E. A. Gee read a paper on the Anglo-Saxon walls of Wareham and Cricklade: interim reports on excavations in progress.

Thursday, 28th January 1954. Sir James Mann, President, in the Chair.

Sir Eric de Normann was admitted a Fellow.

The President read a paper on the Monument and armour of the 1st Baron North.

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